

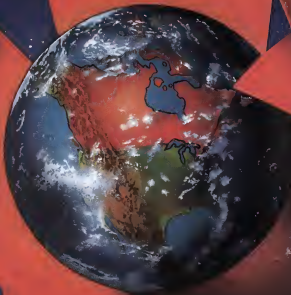
# Maclean's

THE  
INVASION  
OF PANAMA

The Maclean's/Decima Poll

## An Uncertain Nation

Canada At A Crossroads



THERE'S VODKA.



AND THEN THERE'S SMIRNOFF.

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 1, 1990 VOL. 123 NO. 1

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*Postmen threaten to strike out of supermarket losses; an air crash in Gander, Nfld., continues to generate controversy; Darkness book sales cast a new light on the best-seller list; army doctors train in Los Angeles' "war zone"; Competition puts Madonna on its anniversary cover; Metro Toronto offers health tips for the single traveller; a Creebie side "banis out"; W. O. Mitchell gets a fit of the grump.*

### 12 COVER

### 46 CANADA

*In the face of a public outcry over the cost of the submarines and concerns about their safety, the Conservative government cancelled an \$8-billion plan to purchase a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines last April. Now, Maclean's has learned that top-level naval officers and officials in the department of national defence have proposed a new submarine program—one that keeps alive the dream of a nuclear navy.*

### 52 WORLD

*Faced with a spontaneous public outburst against his revalued regime, Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu unleashed the full weight of his security forces on the western Transylvanian city of Timisoara. Witnesses said that hundreds—perhaps thousands—of unarmed civilians were shot, injured or crushed to death by tanks.*

### 64 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

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### COVER

## AN UNCERTAIN NATION

*Deep differences and uncertainties among Canadians are exposed in the sixth annual Maclean's/Tricoma poll, the most comprehensive survey of national opinion published in Canada. These divisions are most pronounced on issues of unity and especially on relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada. But there is also uncertainty on subjects as various as sex, economics and abortion. — 12*

### WORLD

## AMERICA'S WAR ON PANAMA

*After Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega declared war on the United States and his troops fatally shot an off-duty American officer, President George Bush last week ordered an invasion of the Central American nation. One objective: to capture Noriega, named on drug-trafficking charges in Florida. — 33*



### CANADA

## A TAXING COMPROMISE

*After months of unrelenting criticism, Finance Minister Michael Wilson lowered the rate of the proposed Goods and Services Tax to seven per cent from nine per cent. But that failed to satisfy many of the harshest critics of the tax, which is scheduled to go into effect in January, 1991. — 46*





## RESPONSES TO A MASSACRE

The slaughter of 34 women provokes deep feelings ("Massacre in Montreal," Cover Dec. 10). Many women feel safety, grief and outrage. Many men feel honor and shame. It may do us good to do some soul-searching. Like most of the things which make our society vulnerable it is the hands of men it is the male's power and privilege. Aggression back-up our attitudes and appeal our authority. Without the threat or thrill of it we are often bored. It saturates our advertising, our sports and entertainment. It reflects our relationships into terms of power and control. We need to acknowledge those women of Montreal, not just as victims of one man, but also as victims of the violence that is active in all men in many different ways.

Sheldon Glusman,  
Winnipeg



Montreal massacre: 'grief and outrage'

## MEECH LAKE INTRANSIGENCE

The tragic deaths and injuries of those minority students in Montreal is indeed a sad commentary on our present-day lifestyle, and a further proof, if more proof is needed, that automatic, multiple-shot weapons have no place in our society and should be banned period. Generally, there are many other factors affecting these lives, but eliminating those killing machines would be a good place to start in searching for a solution.

Richard Blackburn  
Atholbrook, Ont.

The University of Montreal massacre will certainly bring forth great wrath against the stormable attitude that certain men have against women; there is no excuse for the reckless guidelines for our schools. For a moment, I was left stunned to be male. However, men and women must continue to trust each other; take heart, there are over 12 million men in Canada who are not murderers. This was not a low blow to mankind, for the perpetrator was merely an abstract individual.

Dr. Murray E. Allen  
North Vancouver

## SKYDOME FOR LENINGRAD?

Any reading that a group of 35 "notably Toronto-based entrepreneurs" are planning to remodel St. Peterburg ("To Kness with love," Cover, Nov. 13), I had the horrible thought that this group is going to do to St. Peterburg what they did to my Toronto. The Russians should be warned and, if they are considering turning these people loose in Russia, urged to at least take another look at Toronto and its examples of this initial type of neo-fascist bootstraps—the CN Tower, Ontario Place and the BayDome.

Robert Thomas Allen,  
San Jose, Calif.

ging back from the brink," Special Report, Nov. 20). Their attitude, if continued, will tell the record.

Russ Zalkow,  
Thunder Bay, Ont.

## A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

When will people realize that Timogwan is more than a cottage and lumbering area ("The 113-year war," Environment, Nov. 20)? It is the homeland of the Tsime-Augusta Anishnab (Deep Water People). We have seen our land and water destroyed by clear-cutting, pollution and destruction made in the south by people who have never set foot in the area. This is not only an environmental issue, but primarily one of human rights. We are in the same position as the natives in the rain forests of Brazil. Values must be reassessed to allow native people the right to control our own destiny. When we have destroyed our own planet, where will we go?

It is O'Shannon,  
Second Chief of the Tsime-Augusta  
Anishnab, Bear Island, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should specify names and subjects in letters. Most comments appear in the Editor's Mailbox magazine. Please include: 777 King St. Toronto, Ont. M5V 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**CHARGED:** Michael Pawlowski, 72, a retired Boston, Ont., carpenter, with two current and criminal records is serving the 1342 months of 413 years and 96 weeks behind bars in Scott's Bay Prison, in the Supreme Court of Ontario in Ottawa. A native of Poland who moved to Canada in 1951 and became a citizen in 1956, in the second prison to be charged under Canada's overcrowded war crimes laws—Hague-born Bruno Fanta, 74, a now on trial, accused of sending more than 1,000 Jews to Auschwitz and death camps in 1944. Fanta's lawyer said that his client will plead not guilty. He admitted, Pawlowski faces a maximum 10-year prison sentence for a role in the night slayings.

**DEED:** Prime Minister of Canada Robert Blaine, 71, who was elected in the Caribbean island's first vote following the 1983 U.S. military invasion to end a leftist government of violence, in his official residence in St. George's.

**DEED:** Hollywood actor Lee Van Cleef, 64, celebrated for his portrayal of ruthless rifles, starting with his 1962 debut as a gunslinger in *Hombre*, of an apparent heart attack in his Oxnard, Calif., home.

**DECEASED:** Popular actor Timothy Dalton, 26, and Debra Winger, 34, citing irreconcilable differences. The couple, who have a two-year-old son, married in 1986, after she ended a highly publicized relationship with U.S. Senator Robert Kerry, then governor of Nebraska.



**DEED:** Kenneth Duford, 67, secretary to six governors general from Vincent Massey in 1959 to Gov. Gen. Jeanne Sauvé and 1988, when he became ambassador to Monaco, of Lou Gehrig's disease, in an Ottawa hospital.

**DEED:** Affairs Palace fight and Beal Beckman, 34, after the car in which he was riding was hit by a truck on an icy highway near the 397, train's Swanton, Ga., freight car. In November, teammate Ralph Narveson, 25, died in a car crash after falling asleep at the wheel.

**BORN:** A screenplay, 11-month boy, Martin, to actress Brigitte Nielsen, 26, and her boyfriend, former football star Mark Gaudin, 33, in a Scottish, Arna, hospital.

Editor's Note: A number of letters from the same company are being published. We will continue to accept comments and will publish them as possible.



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# OPENING NOTES

U.S. congressmen study the Gander crash, Donald Trump reveals nothing, and W.O. Mitchell gets rubbed the wrong way

## WINNING NEW FRIENDS

With little progress reported in secret talks between the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and post office management, representatives of the 46,000-member union say that 1990 could bring a nationwide postal strike. In that event, add some officials, the union will stress on how this, if needed, will win widespread support: a demand that Canada Post stop its so-called *supermarket* in suburban areas. Indeed, union president Jean-Claude Rivest noted that the Independent Postal Services Review Commission recently expressed concern about the post office's plan to double the number of community mailboxes in more than 800,000 by 1992. Instead, that government watchdog committee wants better home delivery service for Canadians living in new subdivisions and rural areas. On-duty letter carriers are already canvassing for support in new subdivisions on weekends, campaigning against community mailboxes. It can never hurt to get the public's stamp of approval.

Community mailboxes: campaigning in new subdivisions



## Practising surgery in a combat zone

Arthur Fleming, the chief of surgery at Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Hospital in south-central Los Angeles, describes the impoverished area as a virtual war zone that is fought over by as many as 75,000 gang members, many of them armed with assault rifles and machine-guns. Fleming has convinced the U.S. defense department that the hospital would be a good training ground for doctors who want to learn how to perform combat surgery. Fleming's convincing argument, which won him the services of two doctors for two months since 1983, the number of gunshot victims treated at the hospital has risen tenfold.



Trump; Madonna: a singer for an anniversary issue, but no made tycoon

## A COVER COUP AT COSMO

It is cover has been a hardening pad for the careers of some of the world's top models (but, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the tenure of editor Helen Gurley Brown this year, Cosmopolitan magazine will feature a woman who is already familiar to many readers: singer-actress Madonna. Brown noted that the sultry movie star was her first choice for an anniversary issue that will hit the stands in April. Believing that cosmo, however, was Brown's admission that she had been unable to persuade Donald Trump to pose nude for

another feature—one profiling the publicity-seeking New York City real-estate tycoon (Cosmopolitan must guard publicity when actor Jack Reynolds posed nude for a 1992 centennial). In my event, Brown said that she is eagerly awaiting Madonna's appearance on a special behind-cover for that occasion, the blond actress chose a white, tight-fitting, mini-length dress by Turkish designer Rifat Ozbek. Said Brown: "She looks divine in the photo. She has a lovely bosom."

## SAFETY FIRST FOR SINGLE TRAVELLERS

Many sun-wardippers who travel south this winter will do so with three free condoms from Metroplex Tourism. That is because Metro Council has spent \$20,000 to supply local travel agencies with 8,000 plastic packets containing the contraceptives and other manufacturer-directed products, among them samples of sunscreen lotion. But Metro health official Anita Zalis said that the agency was distributing the so-called health kits only to ticket purchasers where they judge to be single and between the ages of 18 and 45. Metro's reasoning by contrast with older or married travellers, younger consumers may run a greater risk of contracting Aids. Said Zalis: "These folks tend to meet lots of new people, drink more and ignore the rules they follow at home." Don't leave home without it.

## Playing with fire

For five years, Malcolm (Mac) LeMessurier held a pressman's blind post as John Crosbie's special adviser during which



Crosbie: hot issues

the federal trade minister vigorously defended the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. But as Crosbie grappled with another hot issue recently—mass layoffs at the Newfoundland Fisheries—LeMessurier decided that he had had enough of politics and would not renew his contract with Crosbie. Said a confidant of LeMessurier: "I was burned out." Crosbie is still on the hot seat.

## A U.S. look at a Canadian air crash

The worst aviation disaster in Canadian history occurred on Dec. 32, 1985, when a DC-8 jetliner crashed shortly after taking off from Denver, NH. All 245 passengers—155 survivors returning home from a four-day stay in Egypt—and all eight crew members aboard the chartered Air Canada jet were killed in the crash. Since then, Representative Robert Dole has led calls for a U.S. investigation, rejecting the 1987 finding of the Canadian Aviation Safety Board that no landing on the plane's wings had caused the crash. Instead the South Carolina Department of Transportation, which is in charge of the crash site, has issued the accident. Now a House subcommittee is studying crash data in order to determine if a full inquiry is warranted.

Gander crash calls for a congressional inquiry



## THE NUMBERS ARE UNLISTED

With total sales of almost two million copies, This Present Darkness and its sequel Pursuing the Darkness were among 1989's best-selling books. But U.S. author Frank Peretti's action-packed monthly tales of warfare between angels and demons are not on North American best-seller lists—because they are sold largely in so-called Christian book stores. Said a New York Times spokesman: "The books do not sell well in general-interest bookstores and do not make our list." Peretti's royalty cheques, however, are still considerable.



## Itching to play the part

To take a break from writing, W.O. Mitchell, 75, said recently that he hoped to play an "old man" in an episode of *Dead in January*, a 13-part docu-drama that is scheduled to begin on Jan. 7. And, true to his fictional character, the widely known author caused controversy on the set. The reason: Mitchell could not refrain from his longtime habit of smoking, said. As a result, the makeup crew repeatedly had to scrub brown and dust from Mitchell's face and costume—even though Mitchell denied a lab dating back to 1965 showing a spit-all stain the award-winning serial *Man of Flesh and Blood*. Mitchell added that his ill-fated costume of long underwear, shirt and trousers had made him positively gassy before the cameras. Said Mitchell: "I don't think I've ever been so uncomfortable and gassy in my life." Mitchell, acting has its price.

Mitchell: sniff dust in his mustache



# An Uncertain Nation

Disunity may be a permanent part of a definition of Canada — past, present and in the future

Canada is a distinct society, a country with special status in the community of nations as the only nation-state that does not use a defining title. It is not, in any official usage, a kingdom, a commonwealth, republic or federation, much less a union. Nor is it, anymore, in common government parlance, a dominion, the designation borrowed at Confederation from the biblical Psalm 72 by Canadians to define the country's territorial range under God—"And He shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the river unto the ends of the earth." But for much of its history, and again now, Canada has been preoccupied with trying to define itself as more than territorial terms.

In terms of its people and politics, the attempts at a definition have often been stirred by the disunity pull between provincial understandings and the federal power, by Canada's historical linguistic duality, by regional grievances and especially by the mixing and winning of nationalist sentiment in Quebec. Now, the sixth annual Maclean's/Decima poll explores profound and even bitter divisions among Canadians, not only over their definitions of Canada and what it should be, but also between linguistic groups and regions.

Evidence of deep differences and uncertainties emerges most emphatically in the responses to poll questions on national unity and, above all, on relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Reports on the following pages detail those findings. Among them, on the barely debated Meech Lake accord, which is designed to solidify Quebec within the Constitution, supporters in every region but Quebec rate its chances of becoming law as unlikely. About half overall say that if the Meech Lake plan founders, it is likely that Quebecers would then



choose to separate from Canada. And if Quebecers do wish to secede, about half of those polled outside Quebec say that Canada should "just let them go."

With such responses, the poll respondents themselves demonstrate what a majority of them also conclude: that Canada has become more divided during the past few years. They distrust that disunity in their replies to other questions. Overall, two out of five people polled—majorities in Western Canada—conclude that Canada would be better off with one official language instead of two. Substantial proportions of people—majorities in Quebec and Newfoundland—express a stronger attachment to their own province than to Canada.

The survey also indicates a coming of attitudes towards government during the last five years. In looking for leadership on matters that affect their personal economic interests, the poll shows that people have shifted away from government to business, apparently partly in the belief that government has encouraged the transfer of power to that sector of society. Opinions have changed sharply, and negatively, on other issues. Critics of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, now that it is a reality, number more than half of those polled, compared with less than one-third immediately after last year's federal election. A majority say that the FTA has resulted in a loss of jobs in Canada. Fewer people than at recent years express satisfaction with their personal economic situation. Slightly more than one in four say that immigration preponderantly from Third World countries is a bad thing for Canada. Two-thirds oppose providing aid to help stabilize Eastern Europe.

The poll of 1,500 Canadians 18 or older was conducted by telephone from Nov. 3 to 8—the eve of a televised, three-day Ottawa meeting among Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 10 provincial premiers, which led here their differences over the constitutional proposals. The poll asked 76 substantive questions, assembling opinions on a diverse range of subjects—from unity and the economy to the abortion issue, from the proposed federal rules on gun ownership, foreign affairs and sexual practices. About one in five of those polled agreed to follow-up telephone interviews by Maclean's reporters. The poll overlapped the introduction on Nov. 3 of proposed new federal abortion legislation.

It took place amid reports that a federal Goods and Services Tax, to be instituted in 1991, might come in at a lower rate than the proposed nine per cent, but believe it was reported that the tax might score per cent by the time Parliament is through with the legislation. Abroad, revolutionary changes were under way in Eastern Europe. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney prepared for his lec-

ture visit to the Soviet Union, and President George Bush planned to meet Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in early December.

The results of the poll are considered statistically accurate for the whole population within a range of three percentage points, above or below the figures cited, 19 times out of 10. Unless otherwise indicated, the figures in the reports and charts are those and the following pages are rounded percentages. They do not always add up to 100 because a small number of non-responders or "don't know" responses to some questions may have been included in the totals. Overall, the Maclean's/Decima poll is

## NATION OR PROVINCE?

Do you think of yourself as a Canadian first or as a citizen of your province?

	DIVIDED	PROVINCIAL
ALL CANADA	73	26
QUEBEC	44	55
NEWFOUNDLAND	47	53
P.E.I.	57	43
NOVA SCOTIA	63	37
ALBERTA	74	24
NEW BRUNSWICK	75	25
BRITISH COLUMBIA	83	17
SASKATCHEWAN	83	16
MANITOBA	84	15
ONTARIO	90	9

Note: Figures in charts are rounded percentages of total responses. They may not total 100 per cent because some users because the charts include small percentages of poll respondents who gave other replies or did not answer.

the most extensive annual survey of national opinion that is made available publicly in Canada.

Among the most compelling results of this year's poll are the responses that indicate that, almost a decade after the country emerged from a crisis over separatist sentiment in Quebec, most Canadians now are inclined to accept the splintering of the country if Quebecers choose to secede. Such attitudes indicate that any political definition of Canada must include the strong presence of a fundamental disunity that three-quarters of the poll respondents also replied that, if they had their way, they would not like to see Quebec leave Canada. That such feelings prevail more than 120 rocky years after Confederation suggests that the country has learned to live with the recurring challenges to its survival as one territorial dominion that stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the St. Lawrence to the north polar coasts.

CARL HOLLINS





# Differences that divide

Quebec's separation is widely forecast

His skills as a conciliator are widely acknowledged. But when Brian Mulroney vowed during the 1984 federal election campaign to introduce harmony and co-operation to federal-provincial relations, even some of his supporters suggested that he was promising more than he could deliver. Five years later, most Canadians appear to have reached the same conclusion. Only 18 per cent of those interviewed for the sixth annual *Maritime/Quebec* poll said that the country has become more united since the Progressive Conservatives took office. By contrast, 36 per cent said that the state of national unity has not changed, while 54 per cent said that Canada is actually more divided now than in 1984. Observed political scientist Stephen Clarkson of the University of Toronto: "The results provide a clear indication of Mulroney's failure to deliver the love and happiness in federal-provincial relations which he promised in 1984."

The widespread sense of division was also evident in the responses to questions about the

future of Quebec. Forty-two per cent of those polled said that the prospect of Quebec deciding to separate from the rest of the country was now greater than it was a few years ago, while only 25 per cent said that the chances of separation were more remote. Significantly, Quebecers were more inclined than other Canadians to foresee a time when their province would leave the country. Fully 80 per cent of the respondents in that province said that separation was now more likely, compared with 39 per cent of those in other parts of the country.

Those findings are almost certain to disappoint proponents of a strong, united Canada. But although most respondents said that the country is now more divided, only a relative few appear to be worried about the current state of federal-provincial relations. Asked to identify the most important issue currently facing the country, only seven per cent named either national unity or the Meech Lake accord—the proposed constitutional amendment that, among other things, would recognize Quebec as a "distinct society" within Canada in order to secure that province's signature on the 1982 Constitution Act. "There is a sense of disunity in the poll, mainly which is very frequent," said Bruce Anderson, Ottawa-based senior vice-president of Decima Research Ltd. "Even though people say that the country is more divided than it used to be, they do not appear to be terribly alarmed about it. There is a widespread sense of apathy and fatigue surrounding the issue of national unity."



Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon, Mulroney: divisions



By G. L. G. G.

of those polled said that they identified themselves as Canadians first, while only 28 per cent said they felt a stronger bond with the province in which they lived.

But the responses differed markedly from region to region. Fully 96 per cent of Ontarians said that they thought of themselves primarily as Canadians, compared with 83 per cent of British Columbians, 70 per cent of Prairie residents and 63 per cent of Atlantic Canadians (in Newfoundland, which joined Canada in 1949, the sample was almost evenly split). By contrast, 55 per cent of those polled in Quebec said that they thought of themselves as Quebecers first, while only 44 per cent said that they identified most closely with Canada.

Overall, the tendency to identify themselves as Canadian first was most pronounced among older respondents, those whose family income exceeded \$45,000 a year and those of European ancestry. English-speaking Canadians were more than twice as likely as French-speaking respondents to say that they thought of themselves first as Canadians. As well, married people and those aged 18-34 were somewhat more inclined than other respondents to claim a primary identity with their home province.

**Patriotism: 'a profound lack of empathy and sympathy among English-Canadians towards French Canada, and vice versa'**

The sense of disunity felt by many of those surveyed for the poll was underscored by their answers to two additional questions. First, respondents were asked to name the region of the country with which they felt they had the least in common. Quebec was the leading choice of people in every province in English Canada: it was named by 63 per cent of British Columbians, 53 per cent of Prairie respondents, 41 per cent of Ontarians and 38 per cent of Atlantic Canadians. For their part, Quebecers felt most estranged from the three Prairie provinces and Ontario. Declared Decima chairman Allan Gregg: "The results indicate a pronounced lack of empathy and sympathy among English-Canadians towards French Canada, and vice versa."

In addition, respondents were asked how they thought people in the rest of Canada viewed their province. The percentage of respondents who said that these fellow citizens held a negative view of their province was highest in Newfoundland (76 per cent) and in Quebec (58 per cent). "People in the rest of Canada have always had a gut feeling about

Newfoundlanders," observed Ray Guy, a St. John's journalist and playwright. "They look at us as though we were a bunch of adobe living off the wealthier parts of the country."

In Ontario, the country's most populous

## MEECH LAKE'S CHANCES

Chances of Meech Lake accord becoming constitutional law



	LIKELY	UNLIKELY
BIG	32	68
PRAIRIES	32	68
ONTARIO	37	62
QUEBEC	54	44
ATLANTIC	37	60
ALL CANADA	40	58

province, the results were more evenly distributed: 54 per cent of respondents in that province said that Canadians elsewhere had a negative view of Ontario, while 30 per cent said they had a positive view of the province. But 83 per cent of those in Metropolitan Toronto said that people in other parts of Canada viewed their province negatively—a recognition, perhaps, of the resentment some Canadians direct at Canada's largest and richest city. "There is a long-standing, love-hate relationship between the country and us Toronto," acknowledged Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggleton. But Eggleton suggested that many of those who criticize his city are ignorant of its virtues. "Once people in the rest of the country get to know us better, they will love us."

Unlike Newfoundlanders and inhabitants of Metropolitan Toronto, residents of British Columbia expressed almost universal approval of their province's relations with the rest of Canada. Fully 60 per cent of B.C. respondents said that people in other areas of the country viewed their province positively; only 17 per cent said that British Columbians had a negative image. "Thro-



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know the time of most people are speaking in. Perhaps we should be proud of ourselves for recognizing Quebec's democratic right to decide on Canada."

In fact, the responses to other questions suggest that sentiment towards Quebec and the French language remains firmly entrenched in many parts of the country. The poll asked whether the existence of two official languages made Canada a more interesting and better country, or whether it was a source of constant conflict and, as a result, the country would be better off with only one official language. Only in Quebec did a large majority—82 per cent—endorse bilingualism. The rest of Canada was split 50 per cent favouring two official languages, while 49 per cent would prefer to have only one.

As with other questions, the results differed significantly by region. Sixty per cent of B.C. respondents said 54 per cent of them on the Prairies agreed the two official languages, compared with 46 per cent of Ontarians and 43 per cent of Atlantic Canadians. Relative to other groups, opposition to bilingualism was the strongest among Canadians of Eastern European ancestry, United Church members and those aged 55 and older. "I have nothing against French, but I resent it being shoved down our throat," said respondent Allan Miller, 59, a retired Canadian Armed Forces captain from Dartmouth, N.S., who agreed to a follow-up interview. "In the army, I knew a lot of excellent people who did not get promoted because they could not speak French."

In some respects, increased opposition to bilingualism may be a byproduct of the battles between the provinces and Ottawa over the Meech Lake constitutional accord. Lloyd Beeber, 46, now president of the University of Regina, and their many western Canadians are convinced that Quebec already receives more than its fair share of federal spending. Moreover, he said, they fear that Meech Lake, if ratified, would increase Quebec's powers at the expense of English Canada. "It is not as much that they are against bilingualism, but they look at all the funds going to Quebec and their response is 'A job on the French language!'"

Differences in attitudes between Quebecers and other Canadians were also evident in the responses to questions about the Meech Lake accord itself. Sixty-three per cent of respondents outside Quebec said that they did not

expect the accord would be approved and become law. Within Quebec, only 44 per cent held that view. (It is included in the Constitution, the accord needs the consent of Parliament and the 10 provincial legislatures by June, 1990. The governments of three provinces—Manitoba, New Brunswick and Newfoundland—have objected to parts of the



Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells: less fearful of losing Quebec

accord and have threatened to kill it unless their demands are met.)

Nationally, there was a greater degree of concern about the effects of loss of the accord's main function: the transfer of some federal powers to the provinces. A majority of



Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, Mulroney discuss

respondents in every region except Ontario welcomed decentralization, and even in Ontario more people favoured it than opposed it. "It suggests that Canadians do not want a strong central government and that regionalism is an

the race," said historian Jack Granatstein of York University in Toronto. At the same time, Granatstein noted that most published polls show widespread opposition in English Canada to the Meech Lake accord. "Either the public does not know what it wants or it does not understand what it is," said Mulroney.

Indeed, the dominant belief among Canadians appears to be that the future of the Meech Lake accord matters little in the end. The largest group of respondents—60 per cent—said that the accord's failure would make no difference at all to Canada. Of the rest, slightly more said that the accord's death would be good for the country (29 per cent) than that it would be bad (25 per cent). Said Granatstein: "Those numbers would chill me to the core if I were Brian Mulroney."

Similarly, 55 per cent of Canadians outside Quebec said that the prospect of Quebec separating from the rest of the country would not increase if Meech Lake dies. Those who expected Meech to fail were also more inclined to believe that Quebec would not choose to separate as a result of the accord's failure, and that on balance the accord's death would be good for Canada. Indeed, if Quebec did decide to separate, the vast majority of respondents said that the standard of living in the rest of the country would either remain the same (81 per cent) or increase (15 per cent). In contrast, 40 per cent of those polled said that Quebec's standard of living would decline after separation, and 56 per cent said that Quebec would not be able to survive as a country on its own.

In short, said Deanna Anderson, the poll designer, that most Canadians outside Quebec see little reason why they should give in to that province's constitutional demands. "The strength of feeling backing this country together has probably weakened, and that shows up in 61 million towards Quebec and Meech Lake," he added. "Even though they do not want Quebec to separate, English-Canadians seem less fearful of the consequences should it ever occur. And they are less certain of the power that they would be prepared to pay to prevent it from happening." Mulroney, who came to power promising to strengthen the bonds of national unity, will have to address those underlying tensions if he hopes to salvage the Meech Lake accord from the political depths.

ROSS LAYMAN in Ottawa



# Opinions unlike the others

Quebecers disclose distinctive attitudes

The recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society" within the Canadian Confederation lies at the heart of the current debate over constitutional reform. Among the proponents of the Meech Lake accord, it is an article of faith that Quebec is distinctive within Canada by reason of its French-speaking majority and its culture. That concept has not been universally applauded outside of French Canada, particularly when it is coupled, as envisaged under the 1987 Meech Lake proposal, with the idea that Quebec's special status justify constitutional authority to "preserve and promote" the province's unique identity. But the results of the 1989 Meech Lake Decision poll indicate that Quebec is indeed distinct. The poll suggests that, on a number of critical issues, Quebecers do in fact hold different opinions and maintain attitudes that differ from the prevailing views among other Canadians.

It is on the fundamental national issues, those touching the very character of the country, that Quebec opinion diverges most sharply. Only in Quebec, for example, is there an overwhelming consensus that having a bilingual nation is beneficial to Canada. As well, Quebecers, unlike most other Canadians, tend to define their identity in strictly provincial terms. Other poll responses indicate that most Quebecers feel the province is now headed towards secession. And a significant minority of Quebecers—one in three—say that they welcome that prospect.

As far as Meech Lake is concerned, Quebec is the only region in the country where most of those polled (54 per cent) say that they still believe the accord will eventually be ratified and become part of the Constitution. If that is so, Quebecers are also alone in mustering a solid majority of respondents (60 per cent) saying that the dismissal of the Meech Lake agreement will accelerate the slide towards secession. And should the Meech Lake accord founder, the poll's findings suggest that only among residents of the province is there a majority conviction that Quebec's independence will have few, if any, negative economic ramifications.

Not surprisingly, language is the issue that separates Quebec attitudes most clearly from those prevailing in the rest of the country. Eighty-two per cent of those polled in the province said that having two official languages makes Canada a more interesting and even a better country. Only 37 per cent of Quebec respondents, and the same proportion of French-speaking Canadians generally, viewed the dual language status of the country as a source of constant conflict, one that Canada would be better off without. The feelings outside of Quebec present a different picture. There, poll respondents split almost evenly between those who agreed that two languages make Canada "a more interesting and even better country" and others who said that "having two official languages is a source of constant conflict, and we would be better off with just one official language." The division in



Montrealers demonstrating for French-language rights: spirit and enthusiasm

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divide between Quebec and its neighbors as the four western provinces, where a majority of 54 per cent replied that Canada would be better off with just one official language. Majorities in both Ontario (53 per cent) and the Atlantic provinces (57 per cent) said that two languages are better.

The gap between Quebec and most of the rest of Canada is almost as sharp when it comes to personal identity—the manner in which individual respondents define themselves as either Canadians or provincials. A majority of respondents in Quebec (55 per cent) said that they think of themselves first as Quebecers, while 44 per cent said that they considered themselves Canadians first. Outside of that province, 40 per cent of the poll respondents said that they tended to think of themselves as Canadians first, rather than residents of their home province. In that regard, at least, Quebec is not completely alone. In Newfoundland, which in 1949 became Canada's 10th and newest province, 53 per cent of the respondents said that they tended to think of themselves first as Newfoundlanders.

On the issue of Quebec separatism, the opinions of Quebecers differ less markedly, although significantly, from those in the rest of the country. While half of the Quebec poll respondents said that the prospect of their province separating from Canada had become more likely during the past five years, a smaller proportion (38 per cent of the country)—39 per cent—shared that opinion. And while one in three of the Quebecers said that, if they had their way, they would like to see Quebec separate itself from the rest of the country, only 17 per cent of the poll respondents outside Quebec said the same. The 33 per cent of Quebec respondents who favored the idea of an independent Quebec compares with the slightly over 40 per cent who actually voted for the sovereignty resolution in the 1980 Quebec referendum.

But even though a 60-per-cent majority of Quebecers in the Macklin/Decima poll said that they would not like to see Quebec separate, significant minorities also expressed the opinion that the province could make it on its own. Sixty-two per cent of those polled inside the province said they believed that an independent Quebec could survive as an independent nation. In answer to another question, 57 per cent of the Quebecers polled predicted that 10 years after a separation from Canada, an independent Quebec's standard of living would at least get no worse (36 per cent) or else it would improve (21 per cent).

Once again, the poll's results point to a divergence of opinion between Quebec and the rest of the country. In contrast to the polls inside Quebec, 62 per cent of those polled outside that province gave an independent Quebec poor chances of survival. And 79 per cent of those respondents said that if Quebecers did separate, living standards within Quebec over the next decade would decline.

Similar differences divide Quebec and other parts of Canada concerning the age cohort that was originally designed to make the province a fully participating member of the country's



## BILINGUALISM-MULTICULTURALISM

Does having two official languages make Canada a better place, or would it be better off with only one official language? And does being multicultural make Canada better, or would it be better off with one culture?

	Bilingual Better	One language Better	Multicultural	One culture
CANADA	58	41	68	30
B.C.	40	60	78	21
PRAIRES	45	54	70	26
ONTARIO	53	46	68	29
QUEBEC	82	17	64	35
ATLANTIC	57	41	66	33

Constitution. Only in Quebec did the Macklin/Decima poll record a majority—54 per cent—who said that they believed the bilingual act would make it on its own. Sixty-two per cent of those polled in Quebec voiced the opinion that a failure to ratify the agreement would likely lead to Quebec's separation, the view as the rest of Canada was almost exactly the opposite. Fewer than half the respondents inside Quebec—43 per cent—said that the desire of Mirex's Lake would likely drive the province out of Confederation.

Constitutional issues aside, Quebec's attitudes also appear to be different in a number of other areas. The poll suggested, for instance, that significantly fewer Quebecers would seek business studies. Slightly more Quebecers than the national average viewed politics as an attractive profession.

Clearly, as the results of the Macklin/Decima poll indicate, there does appear to be something distinct about Quebec. It is a difference that most other Canadians seem to instinctively recognize. When respondents were asked which region of the country they felt they held the best in common with, the largest proportion in every province outside Ontario—67 per cent at the four western provinces—named that province, Quebec. Respondents in Quebec, however, 43 per cent of them saying that they felt most connected to the West and 30 per cent citing Ontario. For those people both inside and outside Quebec who are still concerned about the future of the Canadian Confederation, the poll results together provide a discouraging expression of attitudes.

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# A distrust of government

Reliance on business grows stronger

**I**t stopped short of alarm. Nor were most of the Canadians surveyed for the annual Mariposa/Decision poll disturbed by their confidence problem after seven years of the longest-serving economic boom since the Second World War. Still, there was an unmistakable unease across the nation. Even as memories of the peaceful recession of 1981-1982 continued to fade, the fear of a downturn of the kind predicted for Canada would again be figured into an economic downturn in the opening months of the new decade. And despite the optimism that most expressed about their personal economic outlook, the numbers of those who were pessimistic were higher than at any time since 1985. Observed Decision's chairman, Allan Gregg: "Economic anxiety is growing."

So, unexpectedly, is the evidence that Canadians are setting aside what historians and political scientists have regarded for decades as deeply coded national characteristics: their reliance on government to protect the livelihoods of ordinary citizens. An earlier indication of that perception emerged last July, when Mariposa reported that Canadians responding to an earlier Decision poll actually responded more distrust of government than did Americans. Now, that trend has emerged even more clearly. Decision's researchers asked Canadians whom they depended most "to look after your best economic interests: government, business or unions?" Fifty per cent of those polled replied "business." Only 20 per cent answered "government." Another 15 per cent said "unions," and 10 per cent expressed an opinion. That outcome almost mirrored the findings of a similar question that the Mariposa/Decision

poll asked five years ago, when 48 per cent of respondents put their trust in government—compared with 38 per cent who placed their confidence in business.

And the result left some experts groping to reassess their traditional analysis of Canada's political culture. "The use of the word pessimism," acknowledged John Wilson, a political scientist at the University of Waterloo in Ontario and director of the Centre for Electoral Studies in that city. He added: "We do not have a free enterprise, look-no-one-for-us-in-a-world, 'America'-view of ourselves up here." But they observed trends that the apparent change in causes that ranged from the sweeping rejection of socialism in Britain, Europe to France. Minister Michael Wilson's frequently repeated assertion that Canada's large federal budget deficit constrains Ottawa's scope for intervening in the economy. And Decision's Gregg remarked that Canadians are far from giving business a blank cheque to

direct their lives. Said Gregg: "Rather than people being enamored of business, it is people being really disillusioned with government."

In fact, Gregg said that Canadians see little to distinguish between the actions of government and the actions of industry. "Undertaken free enterprise has ceased social obligations that have people very scared," he said. At the same time, he said that the business sector has failed to respond positively to the public's new confidence in its economic leadership. Said Gregg: "The private sector has not taken this mandate of public confidence and acted responsibly. If anything, they have acted irresponsibly."

That Canadians may give the country's political leaders cause for reflection. So will some other priorities of the electorate revealed by the Mariposa/Decision survey. For one thing, Canadians who were asked to identify the most important issue facing the country were more likely to name the environment than any other issue. Eighteen per cent cited it as the leading issue now, compared with only two per cent in 1987. 26 per cent predicted that it would dominate the 1990s. The second most-cited issue: the federal government's proposed new Goods and Services Tax, named by 15 per cent as the top issue. Prime Minister Mulroney has already acknowledged that the tax is "very unpopular." Until recently, the Conservative government had been confident about its ability to take control of environmental problems. But this month, federal officials conceded that a sweeping new environmental program by year's end would be ready only in March.

On the light side for the Tories, only a handful of astrophysicists (seven per cent) named free trade as the nation's most important issue, compared with 43 per cent in 1985. On the other hand, when asked to judge whether the year-end agreement has, on balance, created or cut jobs in Canada, most respondents said that free trade has destroyed more jobs than it has produced.

Other responses offered revealing insights into the different moods of Canadians in the various regions across the country—and into the attitudes of differing age, income, religion and education groups. Quebec respondents, for one thing, were less pessimistic than their Ontario neighbors about the likelihood of a recession. British Columbians were the most asked by the importance of the environment, and respondents in Atlantic Canada and Ontario considered the G.T. to be a bigger issue than politics. National unity was considered to be the country's most pressing challenge only



Lunchtime crowd in Toronto a majority predicted an economic downturn

among those 40 and over, among those aged under 25, the subject was hardly mentioned.

But the most striking finding remains the dramatic rejection of government, among those polled, as the best protector of their economic well-being. That attitude was evident in every part of Canada: in none of the country's five regions did most respondents say that they trusted government to look after their interests than business. Observed Donna Campbell, for one, a Red Deer, Alta., housewife whose husband is president of a company that supplies parts to the oil industry: "I am increasingly cynical about government and any ability it has to make people's lives

better." Quebec respondents were most likely to trust business (60 per cent), compared with the national average of 50 per cent and least likely to trust unions (11 per cent), compared with the national average of 15 per cent. And those polled in Atlantic Canada voiced the greatest lack of government faith per cent, compared with the national figure of 25 per cent—and compared with the 38 per cent in that region who placed their trust in business.

Only in British Columbia did the number of people who said that they turned to unions for help after their interests (22 per cent) outweigh the number of those looking to government (20 per cent). The number of British Columbian

looking to business (42 per cent) was the second smallest of any region—compared with 38 per cent in Atlantic Canada. Observed Henry Ouellet, 46, a heating engineer at the Prince George Regional Hospital in central British Columbia and a member of the provincial chapter of Shopkeepers' Union: "Most companies pay their workers as little as possible. And in British Columbia, the government is not neutral, it's antiworker. Without unions, we would not have our present standard of living."

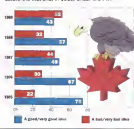
At the same time, it was clear that among some groups in every province, reliance on government remains strong. Respondents whose household incomes were below \$10,000 a year and those with only an elementary-school education were more likely to trust government than business to look after their interests. So, too, were respondents approaching retirement, between the ages of 55 and 64. By contrast, the reliance on business to look after economic interests was greatest among those 25 to 39 years old. And, in general, people's confidence in business increased with education and income.

Per his part, Thomas D'Aquino, president of the Ottawa-based Business Council on National Issues—which represents the chief executive officers of 150 large Canadian companies—said that he welcomed the apparent shift of focus of Canadians' economic expectations from the public to the private sector. And he offered a handful of possible reasons for the change. "I think what's happening is part of a global trend," D'Aquino told Mariposa. "The widespread loss of faith that, in such diverse countries as Poland and Argentina, Socialist governments have ended market-driven economic practices. In addition, he noted, Canadians emerged in 1982 from a deep recession that underscored the weaknesses of such interventionist economic policies as the National Energy Program. Since then, declared D'Aquino, "Canada has had in the last seven years the highest growth record in the industrial world with the exception of Japan. At the same time, we are being told that Canada is moving—later in rhetoric than fact—toward a market economy."

Many Canadians, D'Aquino added, have concluded from that experience that business is a more reliable architect of prosperity than is government. But Ken Eichenberg, executive director of the 11,800-member Ottawa-based National Anti-Poverty Organization, said that the new confidence in business may have a more sinister bottom. He added: "I find those results personally depressing. It doesn't surprise me that people trust government less. The fact is, this is not a government that has said, 'We will look after your economic interests.' This government has abdicated its responsibility in the economic realm. It has said, 'Don't rely on us.' And we haven't."

In fact, Gregg said that other re-

Opinions on the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, before the fact and, in 1989, under the FTA



What is the most important issue facing Canada today? And in the 1990s?

ISSUES	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
ENVIRONMENT	*	*	2	10	15	29
G.T.	*	*	*	*	19	6
INFLATION/ECONOMY	16	12	12	5	10	9
DEFICIT/GOVERNMENT	6	10	10	6	10	6
NATIONAL UNITY	*	*	*	*	3	4
FREE TRADE	2	5	26	42	7	5
ABORTION	*	*	*	*	6	3
EMPLOYMENT	45	39	20	10	6	6

\* Not cited by a significant number of poll respondents

search conducted by Decision Industries that Canadians have almost abandoned their traditional confidence in government in spite of economic activity and protect livelihoods—a pattern that gave the country such symbols of public enterprise as the Canadian National Railway as well as such enduring economic white elephants as the financially maverick-living Bellway Steel Corp. (Noted Group). "People have never had less faith in government than they do now," Despite that, he said that he doubts Canadians have embraced the bottom-line promises of the modern-day wholeheartedly. Decision Group. "People are saying, 'Look at the economic dislocations that the market is causing.'"

As a result, he said that Canadians would in the future demand that governments act more forcefully to run at the expense of the marketplace—initially in such areas as the environment, employment benefits and consumer protection. Canadians, he said, are saying to government, "We don't want to run the railroad, but we want you to set the rules and guarantee public safety." In that regard, Red Deer's Campbell declared: "There has to be a system of checks and balances. The nature of business is to make money and you can't expect a corporation to have a conscience. Government must step in to set guidelines for environmental and social standards."

But, for the present, most Canadians say that they are "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with their economic situation. On average, 73 per cent of respondents—and more than two-thirds in every region—were content with their situation, 26 per cent said that they were not content. Tempering that positive balance, however, was the fact that the number of disaffected respondents has risen from 16 per cent one year ago and now is at a level not seen since 1986. Half of the respondents from households earning incomes of \$10,000 to \$14,999 and fully 56 per cent of those with household incomes below \$10,000 described themselves as content with their situation. And among those poll respondents whose household incomes were above \$45,000, 87 per cent of respondents said that they were satisfied or very satisfied.

Meanwhile, 77 per cent of married respondents said that their economic situation was satisfactory, but among common-law respondents that figure fell to 57 per cent. Stephen Johnson, 33, a courier driver in Vancouver who



Anti-PCB protest at Baie-Comeau, Que. cleanup

lost his bicycle-casualty Brian Woodbury, 20, and reported a household income of between \$35,000 and \$40,000 a year, offered one theory about that discontent. Red John said, "I think married people might have more of a 'We're a team, we're in this together' "

But strong economic theory was a growing consensus that the pessimistic outlook expressed by most of the Canadians polled may prove to be persistent. In Ottawa, Michael McCracken, president of the private economic forecasting company Information Ltd., said that his company is predicting, at best, one-per-cent economic growth in Canada in 1990. But McCracken acknowledged that any one of several factors—including a slowdown in the U.S. economy, a federal tax increase and business and consumer uncertainty over the effects of the car and other policies—could lower that figure to below zero. If that economic contraction continued for more than two quarters, it would constitute a recession. Declared McCracken: "I could see us slipping into a recession that would be much more prolonged and deeper than the conventional wisdom forecasts."

For his part, Gilles Robitaille, director of forecasting for the Ottawa-based Council Board of Canada—a nonprofit independent economic research agency—echoed McCracken's assessment that the weak growth forecast for 1990 could slip easily into a recession. If that happened, Robitaille added, many Canadians who have seen their real disposable

"very optimistic," that figure was low as that in any year since 1985. Students were the most optimistic, respondents who had only some high-school education were least.

And the generally positive assessment of personal prospects was at variance with the widely gloom forecasts that the respondents offered for the economy at large. No fewer than 58 per cent of those polled predicted that the economy was heading into a "mild" or "severe" recession. By contrast, only 17 per cent predicted economic improvement. Regionally, the pessimism was greatest in Ontario, where 64 per cent of those polled forecast a recession. The country's least pessimistic region was Quebec: only 52 per cent of Quebecers said that they saw a downturn coming, and respondents from that province were almost twice as likely as those in Ontario to forecast an economic improvement. One reason for the difference between the neighboring provinces, said Jacques Gauthier, director of research for the Montreal-based Conseil de patronat du Québec (Quebec Employers Council), may be that, while Ontario's booming economy has pushed up many living costs, notably housing prices, "In Quebec, things are more stable."



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income rise by three to five per cent a year since 1983 on expectation that their property decline during the next 12 months. Indeed, Williams added, "If [Finance Minister Michael] Wilson comes out with a further tax increase in 1990, that is going to erode disposable income even further."

At the same time, the issues that preoccupy Canadians as they enter the century's final decade are likely to present challenges for both business and government. The environment was named as the most important issue facing the country by the largest single group of those surveyed—18 per cent. The GCI was next, named by 15 per cent. The concern about the environment was a stark contrast to the past two years, when free trade dominated Canadians' view of the national agenda, while the environment was cited by two per cent and 16 per cent of respondents in 1987 and 1988 respectively. This year, every age group up to 55 shared the heightened concern for the environment, but



Pulp mill on Vancouver Island: an emerging national preoccupation with the environment.

young respondents expressed their interest most emphatically. One of them, Bruce Robertson, 22, a Vancouver graduate student in classics at the University of British Columbia, told Maclean's in a follow-up interview: "We have so much information about the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect and the impact of garbage on produce. And our actions in Canada can be detrimental to the whole world. If our use of fossil fuels, for example, we create trouble for everyone."

The emerging national preoccupation with the environment, as distinct as it is, may encourage groups that are pressing for a more active government response to pollution. Declared David Bracer, spokesman for Toronto-based Pollution Probe, an environmental advocacy group: "Politicians are going to have to start paying lip service to the environment and outline in much more detail what they mean by statements like 'Let's do something.' People are finally saying, 'Put your money where your mouth is.'"

But Ottawa's McCracken noted that the challenge may demand more than that even environmentally aware taxpayers are prepared to pay. When Environment Canada began to estimate the cost of cleaning up Canada's air and water, he told Maclean's, they quickly reached the staggering sum of \$50 billion.

Only one issue challenged the environment for top ranking among those polled: nationally, 35 per cent cited Ottawa's controversial GST as the country's most pressing issue. The proposed federal tax on most goods and services was cited most often by those in Ontario, the Prairie and Atlantic Canada. One reason for that, said Gray: "We have seen a huge jump in the perception that, when the government acts, it is for the private sector's benefit." As a result, he added, many Canadians are napp-

ies of the new tax without fully understanding its workings. The challenge for the Tories, Gregg concluded, is to change the impression that they act principally in the interest of business. Said Gregg: "If they can shift from saying 'We know how to get along with business' to saying 'We can best convince our force business to be socially responsible,' then they can maintain their dominance."

And there was a further challenge to the Conservative government contained in Canada-

and judgment of the one-year-old Free Trade Agreement. Since Maclean's asked Canadians about the trade pact a year ago, many appear to have soured on it. In the current poll, 54 per cent of respondents judged free trade a "bad" or even "very bad" idea, compared with 38 per cent following the 1988 federal election.

The number of those who said that they support the pact dropped in the same period to 43 per cent from 67. In fact, 49 per cent said this year that the pact has resulted in a loss of jobs, compared with only 36 per cent who predicted a loss of employment last year.

Free trade, however, appears to rank low among the concerns of Canadians: only seven per cent of respondents said that it is the country's most pressing issue. The same number cited the Meech Lake constitutional accord and national unity. Most of those in the final category, however, were among older Canadians—only two per cent of those under 25 identified unity as a leading issue. That concerned *Saturday* publisher Mel Hurtig, a veteran advocate of a more unified Canadian nation. Told Hurtig: "There is an obligation of participation by the young in the future of our country. They may be taking for granted something that they are in danger of losing, without even realizing it."

But among a majority of Canadians, clearly, the millennium is approaching on a note of satisfaction, tinged with a degree of apprehension. Whatever uncertainties surround the economy and the environment, Canadians appear optimistic that, individually it may not always collectively, they will prosper in the future.

CHRIS WOOD with BRIAN BEZMINE  
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VIA RAIL

# Doubting the motive

Most Canadians mistrust the government's promises about Via

Canadians were well prepared when, on Oct. 4, federal Transport Minister Bernier threatened increased diesel excise on Via Rail's operations. For months, among Conservatives had made no secret of the fact that they believed that passenger rail service in Canada was inefficient and underfunded, making the Crown corporation a prime target in Ottawa's efforts to reduce its \$18-billion deficit. Beginning on Jan. 15, passenger unit, half of Via's services would disappear along with 2,561 jobs. Then, speaking in the House of Commons three hours later, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney argued that the cuts would make Via more competitive. "We have taken this decision to save Via Rail," he said. Despite that assurance, many critics remained unconvinced. For them, the cuts only masked what they declared was the government's real intention: to completely eliminate Via. That same conclusion was a key finding in the annual *Maclean's/Deane* poll.

According to the poll, despite the government's promise to save Via, 74 per cent of those surveyed said that they believed the cuts were actually, in the words of the question, "a first step to getting rid of passenger rail service altogether." Only 23 per cent said that the cuts were "to help save Via Rail and make it strong in the future." That result suggested that there is a trust credibility gap between what the government says in text and what many Canadians believe. Observed Deane chairman Allan Gregg, the majority of those polled on the Via question "are impugning the government's motives." Added the pollster, Geraldine MacLean, government as "machinelike accounts with a mean agenda."

Russell Relliff, 29, was one of the respondents to the poll who said that he does not believe the federal government's word about planning to save Via. "I do not trust them," he said in a subsequent *Maclean's* interview. Relliff, a Fort Moody, B.C., long-haul maintenance engineer who volunteered to be interviewed after the poll survey, added that his mistrust of

the Mulroney government has grown since it was first elected in 1984 because it is "so much into big business." Even some people who, in their poll responses, said that they believe the Conservative forecast about passenger service expressed skepticism in later interviews about government promises generally.

While people who questioned Ottawa's intentions for Via's future were found across the country, the greatest percentages of them

sawing the service in the long run, just over 32 per cent of French-speaking people across the country expressed the same view, compared with 20 per cent of English-speakers.

Gregg noted that the entire Via issue has been further complicated by the fact that, while less than 10 per cent of Canadians use the railroad, the vast majority of people surveyed in other polls have said that they do not want to lose it or see opposed to cuts. In an April/Galley



Via train taking on water and diesel fuel: a first step to getting rid of passenger service?

were on the East and West coasts: 86 per cent of those surveyed at Atlantic Canada and 84 per cent in British Columbia. The poll also showed signs that many Canadians express little faith in Ottawa's ability to manage its economic resources: 79 per cent of those polled said that whatever extra money Ottawa might get from the planned Goods and Services Tax would be "wasted and mismanaged." Argued Relliff, "They are wasting more money than they ever have before."

The *Maclean's/Deane* poll suggested that there is less skepticism about the Conservative government's Via policy in Quebec and by French-speaking Canadians across the country. Nearly 35 per cent of the Quebecers polled—the highest percentages in any region—said that the Via cuts were aimed at

kill, 60 per cent of those surveyed said that it would be a bad thing if passenger rail service were abolished. Then, in a separate Angus Reid Associates poll released in August, 58 per cent of the respondents reported that they were opposed to the significant cuts to Via announced in Finance Minister Michael Wilson's April budget.

As the public debate over Via Rail has shown, the Conservatives have a long way to go to convince many Canadians that they have taken the right approach to rail passenger service. But as the *Maclean's/Deane* poll suggested, Mulroney and his followers will likely continue to have a tough uphill battle to persuade people that the government means what it says.

GREG W. TAYLOR

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HOMES

## Out of reach

Home-buyers divide over price controls

**T**hroughout 1989, it was a familiar problem for new home-buyers: three years of rising prices, together with relatively high interest rates, had pushed the cost of owning even a modest home beyond the means of hundreds of thousands of Canadians. The worst crisis is in

that governments should intervene.

Other worries also swirled that directly independent Prime minister Jean Chrétien, 66, who lives with her husband in a two-bedroom house in Saskatoon. She told Maclean's in a follow-up interview that too many Canadians forget that owning a house is a

the town that experienced the biggest housing price increases. Only 48 per cent of respondents overrated Ottawa and 47 per cent from British Columbia favored limits.

But the vote was different in Quebec, which emerged as the strongest province in its support for government price controls. Overall, 55 per cent of Quebecers said that they believe in more, rather than less, governmental control of housing prices. Jean Arsenault, 31, a temporary technician in Deseronto, Que., near Quebec City, said that government has a duty to limit rising house prices, which have become a burden for young and middle-class Canadian families. "For years now, salaries have not kept pace with inflation and people have had to pay a larger portion of their income on rent or mortgage payments."

Other noticeable trends emerged from the poll. For one thing, 54 per cent of women



Financing a model home? people are paying 'a larger portion of their income on mortgage payments'

luxury, not a right. Added Weston, who bought her first home in 1961 in Ottawa for \$17,000. "I have always felt that people should look after themselves rather than expecting the government to come in and take over their jobs." There was ambivalence in the vote within

questioned what the government to become involved in housing prices—compared with just 39 per cent among men.

The poll also indicates that support for government involvement is highest among lower-income Canadians. A staggering 68 per cent of

households with an annual income of less than \$15,000 said that the government should control housing prices. But only 36 per cent of wealthier Canadians—those with a household income over \$45,000 annually—favored a bigger role for government. Clearly, the division ran deep over whether the government or the forces of the free market should determine housing prices.

### HOUSING PRICES

Would you say housing prices in the past few years have risen more or less than other prices in your area?

	RISEN MORE	RISEN LESS	THE SAME	NO ANSWER	ALL	WOMEN
RISEN MORE	57	70	86	44	80	72
RISEN LESS	5	5	3	18	8	7
THE SAME	37	24	9	37	13	21

If more, should governments take steps to control prices or play no role?

CONTROL	52	55	46	30	48	47
NO ROLE	47	45	53	68	51	50





Party Leader Audrey McLaughlin "Saves you out doesn't change the fact that those who are hurt the most are those who have the least. People are not saying they don't want to pay tax, but they want it to be fair."

The campaign to promote the tax hit several obstacles. After it was first announced on April 26, government officials said that the GST would be a revenue-neutral tax. No more money would accrue to the government under the GST, Wilson said, and that the government now receives from the manufacturers sales tax, which the GST is intended to replace. The manufacturing tax, levied at a rate of 13.5 per cent, applies to about one-third of all goods produced in Canada and is hidden in the retail price of goods.

But in the poll of 1,500 Canadians, 76 per cent said that they believe the GST will bring in more money for the federal government. Almost half of all respondents—47 per cent—said that those revenues will be substantially higher than under the existing tax. And the idea of a GST, which was once considered a revenue-neutral tax, was simply not believed by the majority of Canadians.

The government has also apparently had difficulty convincing Canadians that additional GST revenues will be used to reduce the federal budget deficit, save more than \$36 billion. But in the poll, 70 per cent of respondents said that new revenues created by the tax will be wasted and mismanaged. Only 20 per cent said that the tax will be used to reduce the deficit. And none per cent said that



Allegations: public hearings but little public support

GST revenues would be used to pay for social programs. David Gregg: "The problem is that the tax is seen as not just unfair, but also ineffective because it will be wasted."

The prospect of abolishing a new layer of taxes arises at a critical time for many Canadians. The tax, if imposed as planned on Jan. 1, 1991, will levy a semi-permanent tax on a wide range of goods and services, from haircuts to legal services, that were previously untaxed. But taxes from all sources already consume about half of the average Canadian's income, more than food, shelter and clothing combined. At the same time, wages have barely kept up with inflation, and consumers are increasingly reducing their spending. Poll results indicate that many Canadians now are demanding that the government cut its own spending rather than asking for more taxes from Canadians.

Poll respondent Susan Smyth, 45, of Timmworth, Ont., a small farming community north of Kingston, accurately works with some obvious and the sometimes. Said Smyth: "People are really getting in their spending more than they were a few years ago. And yet the government is spending money so much I don't agree with. Me and to the Third World, when there are a lot of hungry and homeless here. I believe that we should take care of our own first." For his part, William Sodian, a logger in the northwest of Ontario, B.C., said that issues away should be directed towards cleaning up pollution and less to such areas as the military.

The projected reductions in government spending, announced by Treasury Board president Robert de Gooze, include both high-profile cuts in the expansion of new and reductions totaling \$450 million for some government departments. The announced cuts over three years include: \$3 million cut of such parliamentary agencies as travel by MPs and parliamentary dining rooms; \$5 million removed from the budget of the National Capital Commission for improvements to office residences in Ottawa; the tax of private corporations for such government activities as translation and the collection of student loans; and a \$19-million reduction in the budget of the department of external affairs, which will include a review of foreign aid programs. And Wilson announced some tax increases and a reduction in tax breaks intended to soften the impact of the GST, including tax credits for lower-income Canadians.

Despite the new measures, the government may still have trouble convincing Canadians that its tax changes are economically responsible. Said poll respondent Smyth: "Basically, I do not care a whole lot of both in government's management of the economy." That attitude may remain the greatest hurdle in the way of Ottawa's campaign to convince Canadians that the GST is fair and necessary.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM



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# Getting the message

Concern about AIDS is slowly changing Canadians' sexual habits

For many of her friends, Theresa VanDusen, a 29-year-old community college student who lives in British Columbia, acknowledges having had relations with men. But, responding to the Marlowe/Duncan poll, she expressed a special concern about contracting AIDS. "My friends talk freely about their sex partners," she said in a follow-up interview with Marlowe, "and they don't take any precautions against AIDS. They just don't seem to be too concerned about it." VanDusen said that, because of AIDS, she has changed her sexual habits by abstaining more from sexual play by carrying condoms. Now, she added, her fear of contracting the disease has made her take her current relationship of three months more seriously. Declared VanDusen: "You try harder to make it work. You're not so freewheeling with it."

VanDusen is among the 25 per cent of Canadians polled who said that they were "very concerned" about contracting AIDS. Another 28 per cent said that they were "somewhat concerned." But in comparison to 1987 poll results, there was no significant change in the level of concern about the deadly virus. At the same time, although the poll showed that the majority of Canadians say they are not changing their sexual habits because of AIDS, an increasing number of people are still altering their behavior as an attempt to protect themselves from contracting the virus. Just across Canada, 66 per cent of respondents said that they considered themselves to be sexually active, compared with 59 per cent two years ago.

Concern about AIDS was almost equally split between male and female respondents, but the level of fear varied most among respondents of different ages, marital status and education, and from different parts of the country. Sixty-two per cent of respondents between 18 and 24 said that they were "highly" or "very concerned" about being infected with the virus, compared with 43 per cent of those over 45. Concern was significantly lower among those polled who had at least some university education (44 per cent), compared with those



Students far sooner abstaining more from casual sex and being picky about partners

who had not completed high school (58 per cent).

Single respondents expressed the greatest level of concern about contracting AIDS. Sixty-one per cent of those who are single, widowed, separated or divorced had expressed some level of concern, compared with only 48 per cent of married respondents. Concern also varied among different parts of the country. Sixty-one per cent of those polled in each of Quebec and New Brunswick said that they were concerned about AIDS, compared with 43

per cent in both British Columbia and Saskatchewan. As well, some French-speaking respondents (62 per cent) voiced concern than did Anglophone respondents (59 per cent).

The reasons for concern also vary. One 41-year-old respondent in Manitoba, a farmer who asked that his name not be published, said that he has no fear that his sexual activities will lead to AIDS, but he says that he is still "very concerned" about the virus. For one thing, he said that he had undergone a transfusion to treat a blood condition, and he added that he is not

always concerned that blood supplies are completely safe. Of concern, too, he said, are his three children, aged between 23 and 31. "My kids are growing up," he said, "and I don't know what they will run into." The family has discussed AIDS, and the father said that he feels confident his children are taking precautions. "They are well aware of the consequences," he added.

A significant number of those respondents who expressed concern about contracting AIDS have changed their sexual habits. Of those polled who said that they were very concerned about getting AIDS, 90 per cent claimed to be practicing safer sex by choosing partners more carefully or by seeking out a monogamous relationship. Of those respondents who said that they were "somewhat concerned," 29 per cent said that they have changed their sexual behavior, compared with 11 per cent of those who had no concern at all about contracting AIDS. In general, 26 per cent of respondents said that their sexual habits changed, an increase from 19 per cent in 1987 to 33 per cent in the 1989 Marlowe/Duncan poll.

The sexual habits of younger respondents, in particular, have been affected by AIDS. Of those between 18 and 24 years old, 48 per cent said that their sexual partners have changed "somewhat" or "a great deal," compared with 23 per cent in the 45-to-54 age group. More changes appear to have taken place among respondents living in urban areas (26 per cent) than among rural respondents (21 per cent). And 34 per cent of all respondents claimed to have altered their behavior, compared with 12 per cent of married respondents. But, in general, the poll results showed that 65 per cent of all respondents never used condoms.

AIDS has changed the sexual habits of respondent Doreen Williams. For now, a 20-year-old Toronto female who said that he now is more cautious about his relationships with women. He added that he has been taking sex with the same woman for four years and that he never used condoms during sex before AIDS became a threat. But now, despite his dislike of them, he uses condoms most of the time—even though, he 50 per cent of the poll respondents, he said that he believes he has no chance of contracting the disease.

AIDS also changed Williams' attitude towards homosexuals. "Before, they never bothered me," he said. "But now, when you think about AIDS, you think about them. It always was." On the whole, the results suggest that, because of the widespread association between homosexuals and AIDS, respondents generally became more rigid in their attitudes about alternative sexual orientations. When

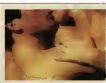


Photo by David H. Smith

## SEX AND AIDS

	1985	1989
Consider self sexually active	73	66
Concerned about getting AIDS	46	53
Concern changed sexual habits	12	26

asked whether their feelings towards homosexuals had changed because of AIDS, the proportion of respondents who had expressed sympathy for homosexuals in general fell to 13 per cent, from 24 per cent last year. But there was little change among the 30 per cent of respondents who expressed hostility in

general towards homosexuals. That proportion dropped only marginally to 14 per cent when they were asked whether they had become more hostile because of the AIDS epidemic. As well, 89 per cent of those polled said that their feelings remained unchanged despite the widespread association of with with homosexuals, an increase of 13 percentage points from those who said that they felt neutral about homosexuals before taking AIDS into consideration. But there were significant differences in attitudes between male and female respondents. Pollsters per cent of females polled said that AIDS had made them feel more sympathetic towards homosexuals, compared with 34 per cent of male respondents. Another 20 per cent of men polled said they felt more hostile, compared with 15 per cent of women with the same response.

Poll respondent Colin Montgomery, a 23-year-old Toronto laptop-casual, said that he always felt sympathetic towards homosexuals. "I was always aware that they, because they were a minority, were persecuted or looked down on," he said. AIDS, he added, increased his sympathy for the group. Declared Montgomery: "I felt more for them for having to put up with some people's attitudes—on you know, making fun for coming in and speaking of it." But although Montgomery

## THE ALLURE OF MEET MARKS

Two young men wearing athletic leotards and black leather pants have a quiet conversation, homophile-shaped bar at Faneuil Hall, a downtown Toronto nightclub, and exchange glances with several heavily make-up women at a nearby table. At the dance floor below, the drag king bodies of young veterans are silhouetted against a video screen, playing a sexually suggestive Madonna video. In one of the center's popular scenes, the dancers through the club's sound system last, the two men send a round of a drink called "Deppert"—a concoction of Peppermint Schnapps and Bailey Irish Cream—to the table of girls, who acknowledge the gesture with appreciative giggles. The mirrored some "bodies" to the powerful attraction that some bars and nightclubs—so-called meet markets—hold for Canadians who want to meet with members of the opposite sex. Marlowe of that kind are an increasingly popular phenomenon as illustrated by the Marlowe/Duncan Poll.

In a wide margin of respondents—38 per cent—those bars and nightclubs are the best place to meet members of the opposite

sex, followed by 16 per cent who parked outside. Some also named gay bars, clubs and public toilets as their top choices for places to meet a potential date, but those locations ranked near the bottom of the survey list, with dining services, private parties and shopping malls. For that part, women were twice as likely as men to say that school or work in the local area is not a top choice, but the poll indicates that in her a person's education level, the more likely they are to seek a date at work or school—as opposed to bars or nightclubs.

Overall, 66 per cent of all respondents who said that they were not involved in a relationship, had the poll indicate that effort to meet members of the opposite sex. "The exception in the 1970s was that the more sexual experience you had, the more you would grow as a person," said Melissa Clark-Jones, head of the sociology department at Dalhousie University in Lewistown, Nova Scotia. She added, "people are recognizing and waiting, rather than assuming that happiness will result from some kind of sexual pursuit." Still, for the restless, as Peter and Marty's, and those at hundreds of other bars across Canada, the pursuit of happiness—compensation—remains as elusive as ever.

PAUL KAHILA

said that he is "somewhat" personally concerned about contracting the virus, he has not greatly changed his sexual life. He has been living with the same woman for the past four years and he says that they cover sex condoms during sex. His own concern, he explained, arose from his previous sexual relationships and those of his partner. But, added Montgomerie, "We have less worries than lots of other people."

To reassure himself, respondent Alexander Zorn had his blood tested for the HIV virus, the precursor of AIDS, before he got married 18 months ago. The 28-year-old Montreal, Que., engineer says that he never uses a condom but, if he were ever single again, he would "probably use a condom and definitely be more picky about choosing sexual partners. Zorn says that he has never had homosexual sex, agreed with these findings, and, because of this, his feelings of hostility have grown. "I think they're the ones responsible for this," said Zorn. "If they want to do what they do, it's up to them, but why should they spread this around?"

That attitude is familiar to many people who work with AIDS support groups. Said Paul McNair, executive director of the Montreal Committee on Action in Health: "If people felt negative about homosexuals in the first place, the disease didn't help." Toronto's Sue Johnson, who answers questions about sex on radio and cable television programs, says that hostility towards homosexuals is rampant—and worse now as a result of AIDS. "There are two scenarios," said Johnson. "One is, they deserve it. They want against God's will, they've sinned, it's their fault, and they deserve what they get." The other scenario is that many people have, she added, "no way happens to me because I'm not one of them."

According to Johnson, AIDS is much less of an issue among her callers than it once was. But she has noticed what she calls "a bad time of stress." Said Johnson: "After something happens, they check to see if they've got an open sore. Not before. Then they panic." What Johnson also said is that it is fitting is that some people who may have had one high-risk sexual encounter, think themselves safe a state of constant fear that they will develop the disease. "There's enough education to make them paranoid," she said, "but not preventive."

Not surprisingly, the answers to the poll's questions that related to sexual activity indicated that younger respondents considered themselves to be more sexually active than older respondents. Like last year's poll results, slightly more rural residents (58 per cent) said that they were sexually active than those living in urban centres (55 per cent). In all, 36 per cent of rural respondents compared with 31 per cent of city-dwellers, described themselves as less sexually active than what they believe to

be the case with the average Canadian. Of the male respondents, 77 per cent of the total sample claimed to be "somewhat" or "very" sexually active, compared with 56 per cent of females. That gap between men and women was similar to the findings of last year's poll, in which 80 per cent of male respondents said that they were sexually active, compared with less than half of other people.



Condom-testing machines: despite fears about disease, few Canadians use condoms

only 51 per cent of women polled. Other groups with a high proportion of respondents who claimed to be sexually active included those living in a marriage-like relationship (59 per cent) and those with an annual household income of more than \$45,000 (78 per cent).

Only 44 per cent of those between 15 and 24 years of age said that they had one partner during the past year, compared with 53 per cent of respondents 30 to 34 years old and 73 per cent between the ages of 35 and 39. Another 23 per cent of the 18-to-24 group claimed to have had two to three partners. Eleven per cent said they had had sex with four or more people.

Responding: Quebec respondents, 58 per cent of whom described themselves to be "somewhat" sexually active, headed the list of those with multiple partners. Only seven per cent of Quebecers polled said that they had been celibate during the

year, compared with British Columbia (29 per cent) and Prince Edward Island (15 per cent). Of Quebec respondents, 75 per cent claimed to have had one partner, 16 per cent said that they had two or three, and seven per cent said that they had sex with four or more people last year. Other groups claiming to have had more than one sex partner were single respondents

(37 per cent), those with no children (26 per cent) and men (16 per cent), compared with women of same age per cent. Still, the poll results clearly indicate that, although concern about AIDS has changed hardly at all in five years, the message about taking precautions and changing sexual habits is starting to sink in—at least that members of AIDS support groups have noted. Said Halley McNair: "We're seeing more and more requests for advice and education coming from the heterosexual—and that's really encouraging."

The misconceptions about AIDS are starting to diminish—and more Canadians, like a number of poll respondents, are beginning to realize that change is necessary to help prevent the virus from taking an even greater toll.

NORA UNDERWOOD with SHARON DOUGLAS SHERRARD in Toronto

#### Advocates misinterpret



"What do you mean?"

"Going along with the crowd? Getting talked into that last drink. Or did you forget you were driving?"

"I wasn't going to finish it."

"So why take it?"

"Good question. Why did I?"

"To impress the others."

"Maybe. And to impress you, I guess."

"Thanks, but no thanks. I like you better when you're your own man."

"It was dumb of me. Do I get another chance?"

"Okay, but hurry up and grow up, will you? I'm getting too old to be dating a kid."

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NEIGHBORS

# A border of mirrors

Canadian attitudes to America are a study in sharp contrasts

Canadians generally say that they enjoy better health care, a higher quality of life and greater world respect than Americans. But given the chance, roughly one in six Canadians would choose unity with the United States if the provision in which they live could also stand and the right to elect members of Congress. That apparent contradiction among those who took part in the 1990 Mackinac Island poll reflected a traditional view that Canadians tend to look upon the United States with a mixture of superiority and envy. But behind that ambivalent stereotype, the week-long annual survey of the national mood showed that the 1,580 Canadians who took part held attitudes towards the United States that contrasted sharply between those in the East and the West, and between francophones and anglophones, rich and poor.

As well as testing attitudes towards joining the United States, the poll asked respondents to select which of five grades, ranging from "significantly worse" to "significantly better," most accurately described the Canadian economy, levels of taxation, health care, education, environmental respect and quality of life compared with those instances of living in the United States. Taxation was the only category in which as many as 56 per cent of respondents said that Canadians were worse off than Americans (21 per cent said "better off," the rest were as follows): But 46 per cent apparently acknowledged some benefits from the taxes they pay, rating Canadian health care better than that available in the United States.

Although the overwhelming majority of poll respondents rejected the notion of joining the United States, the fact that even as many as 16 per cent favored the proposition conforms with the view of some government critics that Canada's sense of entitlement has diminished in recent years. Said University of Toronto history Prof. Desmond Morton, for one, "Every major step this federal government has taken has eroded our sovereignty. With such things as the Free Trade Agreement, Congress would say with some power over our lives in some cases than Parliament has. Some Canadians are probably saying that if they are going to be governed from Washington, they might as well have some say in what happens."

The poll was conducted near the close of a year in which, apart from the completion of the Free Trade Agreement, official relations were strengthened. Prime Minister Jean Charest

and President George Bush held several meetings, including a relaxed family get-together in August at Bush's summer place in Kennebunkport, Me. As well, trusted associates of those two leaders took charge of diplomatic relations—Dennis Blaney, formerly

poll questions on Canada-U.S. relations. Dennis Blaney, formerly a close aide to Prime Minister Jean Charest, said that they showed deep divisions among regions, between men and women by religious affiliation and between legitimate and ethnic groups. The divisions are particularly sharp on the subject of



Bush and Mulroney: most pollsters exhibited a mixture of envy and superiority

the Prime Minister's chief of staff, in Canada's ambassador in Washington, and Edward Ney, the New York City advertising executive who played a key role in Bush's election campaign, as the U.S. envoy in Ottawa.

After breaking down the overall results of

watchdog. As many as one in four Quebecers and one in five poll respondents in the Atlantic provinces favored the notion of joining the United States.

As well, the national findings indicate that westerners tend to be pro-free traders than those



only 13 per cent of female respondents (compared with 20 per cent of the males). Even more striking, 47 per cent of the participants whose first language is French supported statism—more than twice the Anglophone percentage (13) of those whose first language is English. Rural residents were more likely than city-dwellers—59 per cent, compared with 15—to favor becoming a state.

In each of nine income categories from below \$10,000 a year to \$45,000 and over, the responses to statism varied only slightly from the overall figure of 39 per cent, except for those in the \$15,000-\$20,000 bracket, more than one-quarter of whom favored joining the United States. When categorized by age, the least enthusiastic about union, at 10 per cent, were people between 45 and 49. Those most in favor, at 21 and 30 per cent respectively, were 20-to-29-year-olds and those between 50 and 54. Genderly, support for joining the United States was greater among single, childless respondents with the least education.

Statism factors appeared to have had a major influence on responses. Forty-one per cent of those who expressed a preference for statism said that the Canadian economy was worse off than the U.S. one, and only 20 per cent said that it was better. The prevailing perception that U.S. tax levels are preferable

to those in Canada also was evident in responses to the statism issue. Fifty-five per cent of the pro-independence respondents said that Canadian tax rates were worse than those in the United States, and only 35 per cent said that they were better.

There were sharply divided opinions on whether the Canadian economy is performing

best in industrialized nations (38 per cent) and the lowest in Quebec (21 per cent). Opinions on the Canadian economy were sharply divided according to the gender of poll respondents, 40 per cent of women rating it better than the U.S. economy while almost the same proportion of men—38 per cent—rated the Canadian economy worse.

Overall, 68 per cent of the poll respondents said that "the quality of life" in Canada is either somewhat or significantly better than in the United States, and 26 per cent noted it is the same. British Columbia and Ontario were the biggest supporters of the Canadian lifestyle, 71 per cent of the respondents in each province said that Canada's quality of life is superior. Quebecers were the least inclined to rate the Canadian lifestyle superior, with 54 per cent expressing that opinion and 37 per cent saying that the quality of life is the same as both sides of the border.

These findings, in with others in the casual poll, cast a new light on Canadian attitudes towards the United States a year after the national debate over the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, during the 1986 federal election campaign. The poll results also expose sharp divisions of opinion within Canada, which clearly have as the prospects for national reconciliation.

RAE CORRELL



Barney Gelfo and Naji: deep divisions among regions and the sexes

## JOINING THE U.S.A.

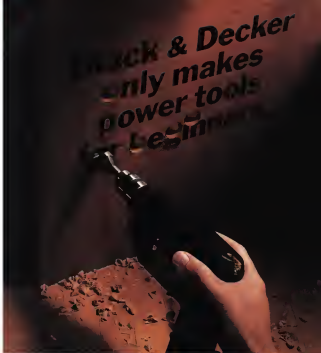
Inclined to accept if their provinces were given the chance to become a U.S. state

ALL OF CANADA	16
QUEBEC	25
NEWFOUNDLAND	27
NEW BRUNSWICK	21
BEST OF CANADA	13

## NEIGHBORS

Comparing Canada with the United States

	CANADA BETTER	CANADA WORSE	SAME AS THE U.S.A.
HEALTH CARE	89	4	7
QUALITY OF LIFE	96	7	26
WORLD RESPECT	63	13	23
ECONOMY	36	52	30
POLITICIANS	22	13	62



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# Faces from far shores

Immigrants are testing Canada's self-image of racial tolerance

Throughout Canadian history, immigration has been a source of change—and of conflict. And for Immigration and Naturalization Minister Barbara McDougall and contemporary Canadians, the issue remains contentious. Fending the current debate is the fact that the pattern of immigration to Canada has changed dramatically. In 1987, 88 per cent of the 382,164 immigrants were Europeans or Americans. But of the 152,006 immigrants to Canada 20 years later, the percentage of Europeans and Americans had dropped to 24 per cent. The remainder in 1987 came mostly from the Third World, a shift that is changing Canadian society—and severely testing the country's self-image of racial tolerance. In fact, as the results of the sixth annual Marjorie's Decima poll show, Canadians have yet to come to terms with the influx of visible minorities—expressing their support for the concept of multiculturalism, but also showing a muted hostility towards ethnic distinctiveness.

Despite that situation, the majority of respondents—83 per cent—said that increased immigration from the Third World was "just a part of life," as opposed to 37 per cent who called it a "bad thing" and the 19 per cent who said it was good. As well, when asked to assess the benefits of Canada's diverse multicultural makeup, only 30 per cent of respondents expressed agreement with the poll statement "We would be better off if we were all more the same"—compared with 68 per cent who chose the response that being "made up of people from different ethnic backgrounds makes Canada a more interesting and even better country." But when asked if new immigrants should be encouraged to maintain their distinct cultures and values, 97 per cent of respondents said that new immigrants should "blend with the larger society," compared with only 40 per cent who said that new arrivals should maintain their ethnic identities.

That result is much the same as the finding of a special Marjorie's/Decima poll done last summer, in which 61 per cent of respondents said that immigrants should change their culture. And other recent polls have also shown that Canadians, although prepared to support and often praise Canada's multicultural identity, are less likely to tolerate the underlying essence of multiculturalism—that ethnic groups be encouraged to retain their respective identities. "We are reviling in our multicultural identity," said Alisa Gregg, chairman



Immigrants working newer coming to terms with an influx of visible minorities

of Decima Research Ltd. "But Canadians demand, in the end, stability. And anything that threatens to upset that stability, they eschew."

In fact, intolerance of cultural distinctiveness proved higher than average in provinces where immigration-related issues are prominent. In British Columbia, which in recent years has attracted large numbers of Asian immigrants, 82 per cent of respondents said that new arrivals should adapt to the larger culture. That figure was matched in Alberta, where the backlash to recent Commissioner Norman Sinclair's proposal to change the RCMP uniform and allow Sikh officers to wear their distinctive turbans has been especially virulent.

Attitudes towards ethnic distinctiveness also ran high in Quebec, where 58 per cent of respondents said that immigrants should be encouraged to assimilate. In Quebec, increased assimilation has become a vital concern for the government because of the rapidly declining pro-

vincial birthrate—which now stands at a record low of 1.4 children per woman, compared with 1.7 nationally. At the same time, the majority of new immigrants to Quebec resist assimilation into francophone culture—at a time when Quebecers are becoming increasingly concerned over the future of the French language in North America.

But in spite of the underlying intolerance among respondents towards new immigrants and ethnic diversity, younger Canadians were more willing than older respondents to accommodate cultural differences. In the 15-to-24 age group, 64 per cent of respondents said that new immigrants should maintain their distinctiveness as opposed to only 30 per cent in the 55-to-64 age group. Those results, said Gregg, "held out some optimism for the future"—and the hope that the Canadian ideal of tolerance will prove to be more than a myth.

McDougall's face of life



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# Politics and dollars

Most Canadians oppose paying to support the new Eastern Europe

**T**he changes, both rapid and revolve, threaten the status of countries long known as the Soviet Bloc—and the rest of the world as well. Over the last half of 1989, one Communist government after the other, led by its most popular minister and the liberalizing drive of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, cast aside old-line leaders and replaced them with reformers. Some of the new guard were not even Communists; other countries abolished the constitutional guarantees of Communist power. And several reached out to the West for economic assistance and help in introducing free-market policies. But Canadian responding to the Marksov/Demina poll voiced profound doubts about whether Ottawa should in fact provide that aid—if it meant paying higher taxes at home.

The telephone poll was conducted between Nov. 1 and Nov. 8, just before the East Germans opened the Berlin Wall to direct migration to the West—the most dramatic moment in the Eastern upheaval—and shortly before Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa made an eventful first visit to Canada. Aided which of two points of view best reflects their own, 50 per cent of those polled said that what happens in Eastern Europe is none of Canada's business and it would be a waste of taxpayers' money to offer major economic aid. Only 21 per cent said that Canada should offer large-scale financial assistance to Eastern Europe to encourage reform and economic stability; even if that meant higher Canadian taxes. Regionally, British Columbia polled were the least op-



Berlin Wall celebrations: a new view of the changes—but not of the old costs

posed to provide aid, with 75 per cent of them opposed to the idea. By age, support for economic aid increased with the level of education of the respondents. As it happens, officials in Ottawa obviously believe that Eastern Europe is worth helping: the government has pledged \$75 million in aid to Hungary and Poland.

But respondents to the poll did view developments in Eastern Europe in a positive light. Forty-two per cent said that the changes made were somewhat less likely, and 50 per cent said

that the developments made were much less likely. Respondents of Ontario and British Columbia were particularly emphatic in that positive assessment. Nationwide, only 35 per cent of respondents said that the changing situation in Eastern Europe made war more likely. In general, most Canadians clearly took a step more of the changes sweeping Eastern Europe—as long as they did not have to help pay for it.

BOB LEVIN

## JOINING A SOUTHERN CLUB

Since 1910, when the Association of American States included a charter joining Canada, many of them in a career making way out of support for its members, successive Canadian governments have turned down invitations to join the association of Western Hemisphere nations. Since 1970, Canada has held permanent-observer status at the organization's headquarters in Washington, and it participates in a wide array of development programs. But as Richard Gortchak, the current perma-

nent observer, said, "The traditional explanation for not joining was that we would rather have to oppose Washington on particular issues as when the role of becoming a U.S. puppet." Then, after a policy review, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney indicated in an August meeting with U.S. President George Bush that Canada was ready to join the club.

Mulroney formally announced his decision at a meeting of hemisphere leaders in San José, Costa Rica, in Oct. 27. In Washington less than three weeks later, the last unanimously elected Canadian membership, to begin on Jan. 1. Five days after Mulroney's announcement in Costa Rica, the Marksov/Demina poll began, canvassing opinions on whether old membership "will assure Canada's independent voice

in the Western Hemisphere, or will it enhance Canada's standing and influence?"

Opinions were divided. Forty per cent of the poll respondents said that old membership will reinforce Canada's influence, 50 per cent said Canada will sacrifice some independence. More confidence was registered in Quebec, where 65 per cent of respondents said that old membership will enhance Canada's status. Optimists were more inclined to favour in regions of independence, with 40 per cent expressing that view. Overall, results indicated widespread skepticism. One in four of the Canadians polled said either that they had no opinion on the question or that belonging to the old will make no difference at all to Canada. C/



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# Support for women's rights

Members of Parliament confront a dilemma

It was a riveting personal drama played out before a media-frenzied nation. For four weeks last summer, 41-year-old Chantal Daigle waged a protracted legal battle against her former fiancé, Jean-Guy Tremblay, 35, over her right to have an abortion. Lawyers representing Tremblay convinced a series of Quebec courts to block that abortion. Finally, on Aug. 8, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favor of Daigle, although she had already received an abortion in a Boston clinic after 22 weeks of pregnancy. The Daigle-Tremblay case, along with a parallel Toronto dispute in which 22-year-old Barbara Dodd won a similar court case, revived the simmering debate over access to abortion in Canada. Those legal battles also appear to have had a dramatic impact on public opinion. Slightly over 64 per cent of the respondents to the Maclean's/Décima poll said that, as an abortion decision, a woman's rights must prevail, while only four per cent supported the prospective father and 32 per cent said that fetal rights should be paramount.

In response to other questions related to the abortion issue, only a small minority—11 per cent of respondents—said that abortions should be banned outright. Thirty-two per cent would permit abortion on demand—the position that has prevailed since a Supreme Court of Canada judgment at the beginning of 1988 struck down the law governing abortion. The majority of those polled, 55 per cent, said that abortions should be allowed "only under certain circumstances." On the issue of timing, respondents who said that abortions should be available to women are divided almost evenly between

those who say that abortions should be allowed anytime during a pregnancy (41 per cent) and those who would permit abortions only in the first three months (43 per cent). The rest opted for time limits of 20 to 24 weeks or stated no opinion.

Participants in the poll also were almost equally split over the need for a new abortion

mental or psychological health is at risk. The government introduced that long-proposed legislation on Nov. 3 while the Maclean's/Décima poll—conducted from Nov. 2 to 8—was under way. Bill C-43 was designed to replace the abortion law that was struck down by the Supreme Court of Canada in January, 1988. The court ruled that its restrictions violated the right of women to "the liberty and the security of the person." In a speech in the Commons on Nov. 24, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney addressed the dilemma that faces the legislature: "There can be few questions on which voters are as strongly or as deeply laid. The challenge the government faces is to achieve a new law on abortion that balances divergent and incompatible views."

The disagreement among respondents mirrors the same deep rifts within Canadian society, particularly between those who favor abortion as a legal choice and those who oppose it under all or most circumstances. Organizations and individuals supporting the right to abortion say that polls have consistently showed that a vast majority of Canadians favor their position. Robin Rowe, national co-ordinator of the Toronto-based Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL), said that the Maclean's/Décima poll showing 87 per cent of Canadians in favor of abortion to some degree proves that a strong consensus exists. Added Rowe:

"We have always represented a vast majority of people who believe that abortion should be a private matter between a woman and her doctor."

On the other hand, opponents of abortion claim that public opinion surveys, including the Maclean's/Décima poll, show that most Canadians do not want decisions about abortion left entirely with a woman and her doctor. Laura McArthur, far vice, president of the Toronto-based Right-to-Life Association, said that a large majority of Canadians remain adamantly opposed to abortion on demand. She added that the Maclean's/Décima results showing 32 per cent of participants favoring abortion on demand does not accurately reflect grassroots sentiment across Canada. (Edward McArthur, whose group opposes abortion: "There has been a tremendous surge in pro-life support in Canada in recent years. There certainly is a strong resistance to abortion.")

For those attempting to draft a new abortion law, the issue is further complicated by divergent regional views.

The Maclean's/Décima poll showed that participants from the three Prairie provinces and four Atlantic provinces were the most strongly opposed to abortion on demand, while participants from British Columbia, Quebec and Metro Toronto were the most supportive. Indeed, 42 per cent of those questioned in Metro Toronto supported abortion on demand, compared with only 19 per



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Daigle: a Supreme Court of Canada ruling favoring women

law. Fifty-one per cent said that there should be a new law, while 47 per cent said there was no need to enact legislation on the issue. That dovetails with respondents' position that members of Parliament will confront in 1990 when they debate a proposed new abortion law, Bill C-43, a Criminal Code measure stating that abortions are legal when one doctor determines that the pregnant woman's physical,

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son from Saskatchewan. Other factors that affect attitudes to abortion, according to the poll, are income, marital status and religion. The poll indicates that the lowest-income Canadians, those with household incomes of less than \$14,000 a year, are the most likely to support abortion on demand. But those in household income brackets higher than \$25,000 a year are also substantially in support of abortion, at least in some circumstances. The highest level of outright opposition to abortion is among poll respondents in the \$20,000-to-\$25,000 household income range. People living in a common-law relationship are most likely to support abortion on demand or in certain circumstances, while married people are negatively skewed in support of abortion on demand. The poll also shows that people who are most likely to support abortion on demand or in certain circumstances are those living common law.

Views on abortion differed among members of different religious groups and among those with no church affiliation. Half of the respondents who declared themselves to be atheists or agnostics or to have no religious affiliation

said that they believed in abortion on demand. Those respondents, along with affiliates of the Anglicans and the United Church, are less likely to support abortion outright than were those attached to other Protestant denomina-



David with boyfriend Gregory Murphy: divorce issue

ations or the Roman Catholic Church.

These shades of opinion reflect the official stands on abortion taken by some of the churches. The Protestant Association of Canada, a conservative Christian denomination that comprises 1,054 congregations with over 180,000 members, responded to the government's proposed bill C-43 with a statement calling for "implicit prohibition of abortions for social, economic and circumstantial factors."

On the other hand, the United Church of Canada, the country's largest Protestant denomination with about 350,000 members, officially opposes abortion on demand but, in a Nov. 27 statement, reaffirmed its support of a woman's "reasonable choice" to terminate a pregnancy if she chooses to do so. The church also stressed its opposition to putting abortion back into the Criminal Code. Linda Ervin, a United Church minister and spokesman for the United Church Coalition for Abortion Clinics, and that a law on abortion would be "a body-based slap at women, a way of saying women are not capable of making responsible decisions."

In late January, a legislative committee made up of 15 men from three parties will begin reviewing the bill C-43. By reviewing the bill to the Criminal Code, the legislation would make abortion a crime punishable by up to five years in prison—a crime performed by a qualified medical practitioner who had determined that a woman's physical, mental or psychological health was in jeopardy.

Activists on both sides of the debate have attacked the bill and launched intense lobbying campaigns to defeat it. Margaret Paré, the national vice-president for Campaign Life Coalition, which opposes abortion, said that the provisions penalizing legal abortions are so broad that the government is condoning abortion on demand. She said Paré "This legislation is absolute hypocrisy. We don't want the bill amended. We want it defeated."

Activists who favor abortion as a choice also oppose the bill. CARAC's Rowe said that the government is doing nothing to make abortion more universally available. She added that the fear of criminal prosecution will discourage many doctors from performing the procedure. Added Rowe: "It will have a chilling effect on the availability of abortion, especially in small communities."

In the House of Commons, there are currently only two identifiable blocks lined up on C-43. The 43 New Democrats have said that they will vote against any bill that criminalizes abortion, while the 35 members they collect in under instructions from Mulroney to support C-43. For activists on both sides of the issue, the challenge now is to find enough votes among the remaining 165 to defeat the bill. But regardless of the outcome of the battle on Parliament Hill, abortion will likely remain a searing and divisive issue throughout the session for many years to come.

BY ARCY JENSEN WITH E. JANE FOLLOWS  
in Ottawa

## THE ABORTION DEBATE

Should abortions be allowed on demand, in certain circumstances or not at all? Should there be a new abortion law or not?

	ON DEMAND	CERTAIN CASES	NOT AT ALL	NEED LAW	NO LAW
<b>TOTAL POLL</b>	32	55	11	51	47
<b>FEMALES POLLED</b>	30	56	13	45	53
<b>MALES POLLED</b>	35	54	10	57	43
<b>ROMAN CATHOLICS</b>	29	56	14	56	43
<b>ANGELICAN/UNITED</b>	35	59	4	38	60
<b>OTHER PROTESTANT</b>	24	55	19	59	39
<b>NO RELIGION</b>	50	46	3	48	50
<b>ATLANTIC REGION</b>	28	58	12	53	46
<b>QUEBEC</b>	37	49	14	56	43
<b>ONTARIO</b>	32	57	10	48	49
<b>PRAIRES</b>	25	59	13	54	40
<b>BRITISH COLUMBIA</b>	39	54	6	35	62

# A TAXING COMPROMISE

**MICHAEL WILSON CUTS THE GST TO SEVEN PER CENT AND MAKES UP THE DIFFERENCE WITH OTHER TAXES**

After months of relentless pressure, Michael Wilson chose to compromise. The finance minister rose in the Commons last week to say that his proposed Goods and Services Tax (GST) would go into effect on Jan. 1, 1991, at seven per cent, not the previously announced rate of 9.5 per cent. It was a clear concession to the avalanche of criticism that has greeted the tax proposal since he first outlined it in August 1989, the lowest rate failed to satisfy opponents' claims. Declaring that the tax would have Canadian rejection of the crisis, Liberal Leader John Turner called Wilson "the Rottweiler of Canadian politics"—a reference to the character in the film *Grease* with the Wild-and-scraping the famous line from the movie, and that Wilson's answer to all problems was "I don't give a damn." But Wilson made it clear that he remained determined to replace the outdated manufacturers sales tax with a more value-added tax—the GST. Declared the minister: "The GST, once implemented, will help to produce a more efficient, expanding Canadian economy."

But the rate reduction carried a price. Wilson said the two-per-cent cut would cost the government \$5.9 billion a year in lost revenue. As a result, he proposed a series of tax adjustments, some of them scheduled to take effect in 1990, to help offset the remaining losses—and proposed more changes in his next budget, expected in February or March. Among last week's measures: cancelling previous phaser a slight cut in income tax rates for middle-

high-income earners; increasing taxes on high-income earners and large corporations; lowering fees to be paid to small businesses for collecting the tax; maintaining current tax levels on alcohol, tobacco products and gasoline; lowering sales tax credits and boosting rebates previously proposed under the GST. The net effect of these changes, according to the minister, middle-income earners will be slightly better off than under his original nine-per-cent proposal.

Wilson's statement was the second indication in four days that the government was responding to intense pressure to change its GST proposal. Merchants, consumer groups, economists and provincial governments have become the main opponents and opponents leading to their attacks on the tax, claiming that it could lead to confusion for shopkeepers, higher taxes for the poor and money siphoning for the country as a whole. They also refused to discuss money from visits to their islands warned ministers that the govern-

ment could face a taxpayers' revolt unless it lowered the GST rate and demonstrated that Ottawa was serious about deficit reduction by cutting government spending.

On Dec. 14, the government revealed \$1.4 billion worth of spending cuts over three years, in areas targeted for maximum voter effect. Treasury Board president Robert de Cotret announced a series of largely symbolic measures, including the sale of two of the government's executive jets, reductions in foreign-travel budgets for parliamentarians and bureaucrats, the closing of two parliamentary libraries—even the deferral of repairs to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's residence. Said Newfoundland Tory MP Ross Kent: "People believed that government had to walk in spending. We wanted to send a message."

Those cuts were more symbol than substance, but that reflection in the GST rate four days later was clearly far-reaching. Reformers quickly hailed the two-per-cent reduction as a vital change. Many experts had believed Wilson that a cut of just one per cent could trigger off an uncontrollable burst of inflation. Wilson himself acknowledged that it would add at least 3.28 per cent to the inflation rate in 1991. Some economists said that inflation could be even higher, especially if the Bank of Canada responded to the pressure by raising interest rates—just as it has done in the past. By contrast, Wilson last week claimed that a seven-per-cent GST would add only 1.25 per cent to inflation. Several private economists, including Peter Deaton of the University of Toronto, said that the lower GST rate would have less of a negative impact. Said Deaton: "A non-per-cent GST is dangerous. Reducing it is a moderate move by the government."

For her part, Rosa Ehrenberg, executive director of the National Anti-Poverty Organization in Ottawa, said that while the GST remains severely flawed, Wilson should be applauded for targeting large corporations and high-income earners for tax increases. Said Ehrenberg: "He has been considerably more equitable in dividing the tax burden than in the past." But small-business leaders complained that any form of GST would still complicate life for shopkeepers, who, in every province but Alberta, which has no sales tax, will have to deal with two separate sales taxes.

John Ivis, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, "A seven-per-cent GST is still a bucket of balg"—said in a snicker-bucket.

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Toronto boutique: complaints from shopkeepers about two separate duties

Meanwhile, restaurant and foodstuff processors claimed that Wilson had failed to resolve gaps in the taxation of food. Last week, Wilson stuck to his position that the GST would be levied on restaurant meals and ready-to-eat food, but not on what he called "basic food"—mainly groceries, but including some items that require a measure of preparation, such as frozen dinners. Some critics noted that left a place such as a frozen pizza from a grocery store not being taxed but the fresh pizza from a restaurant not subject to the GST.

As for de Cotret's reductions, Wilson acknowledged in the Commons that they were specifically designed to reassure voters. Added the minister: "We have heard, loud and clear, the message that the operations of government itself should be the least priority for belt-tightening." Among de Cotret's measures: eliminating a two-per-cent cap on growth of spending by government departments and delaying for two years \$466 million worth of construction in the Ottawa area. But some of his cuts also went beyond Parliament Hill and the capital region. De Cotret initiated a three-per-cent administrative fee for student loan applications, increased user fees for the national park and eliminated the \$175-million annual payment to Canada Post that is used to keep postal rates relatively low for Canadian publishers.

Said Wilson and that the two-per-cent cut in the GST means that there will be further and deeper spending cuts in his next budget. Serv-

ice of any and that their provincial counterparts, notably in Quebec and Alberta, are discussing and recommending related reductions. Said Donald Brecken, chairman of the House of Commons finance committee: "People are talking seriously about cuts to newborn, ending unemployment in social programs and ending family allowances. De Cotret's cuts weren't nearly enough." Brecken said that they were Crown press the government to privatize more Crown corporations and to contract out more work. Senior Tories said that the budgets for foreign aid and national defence, two areas targeted in Wilson's last budget, will likely be cut again.

Meanwhile, Wilson said that the economy is "slowing" and that it should be monitored closely during the coming year. But some experts have warned that despite signs are already evident. For one thing, in October Canada recorded a merchandise trade deficit for the first time in 53 years. Last week, General Motors and Ford, Canada's two largest automakers, announced that in January they will lay off 31,430 workers for up to three weeks as a result of poor car sales. Said Liberal finance critic Douglas Young: "The economy is going to be the same next year." Indeed, the GST may soon be involved in a broader debate—one focusing on the Taxes' overall management of the economy.

NANCY CLARK with RICHARD CROUTIER in Ottawa

## National Notes

### COURTROOM REVENUE

Crown attorney John Forrester, who withdrew from the budget leak case in November after arguing that a lay witness, Sen. Sgt. Richard Jordan, had appeared tampered, apologized for his remarks in the court room in an Ontario provincial court in Ottawa. Jordan, who investigated the case, returned to the witness box to repeat allegations that charges against Global Television reporter Douglas Smith were laid because of political interference. Smith and two other men are charged with possession of a stolen document.

### BATTLE OVER FISH

Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells ordered Prince Minister Brian Mulroney to follow in silence, promising to convince European Community leaders to reduce their fish quotas drastically in the untold Atlantic fishery unless Canada's exclusive 200-mile zone. Wells was reacting to an aid document to set an almost 60,000-ton quota for 1990, which leaves the local Canadian fishery at a loss.

### RELIEF IN SIGHT

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said that Ottawa and Prince Edward Island are close to finding an agreement to provide relief to Summersville, P.E.I. In 1989, the Canadian Atomic Energy Commission in Summersville will close, forcing more than 1,000 local residents out of work.

### STIFF REMINDERS

Four South American arrested in New Brunswick with an arrest of weapons in September were sentenced to 18 years in prison. They had pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit a robbery in the case of two Colombian drug smugglers who in November were sentenced to 20 years in prison. A 1989 man has pleaded not guilty to the conspiracy charge.

### THE GIFT OF GIVING

Twenty-five businessmen, Stephen Sander, 55, said that he intends to transfer \$300 million worth of real property to the Consciousness International Foundation, a charitable organization that he is creating to aid the Third World. Said Sander, a 1986 winner of Canada's 30th anniversary: "I cannot take it with me."

### SMOKING BAN

Transport Minister Donald Boudreau announced that, as of Dec. 26, smoking will be banned on all interprovincial flights by Canadian airlines. Boudreau said that the ban will cost them millions of dollars in lost revenues.

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CANADA

## Keeping the dream alive

*The navy still wants nuclear submarines*

For two years, Canada's naval officers shared a dream of restoring the service's lost greatness. Their hopes mirrored those of the Minister of Defence's plan to purchase an \$8-billion fleet of nuclear-powered submarines from Britain or France. But in the face of a public outcry over the cost of the submarines and concerns about the safety of nuclear-powered vessels, the defence coalition government cancelled that plan last April. Now, Maclean's has learned that top-level naval officers and officials in the department of national defence (DND) have proposed a new submarine program—one that keeps alive the dream of a nuclear navy. In the short term, they are working quickly to re-evaluate the navy's nuclear expertise. Their long-term goal: purchasing six diesel-powered submarines from France, then later converting them to nuclear power.

DND officials have confirmed parts of the plan, though they deny that their sights are still set firmly on nuclear power. But Maclean's has received a copy of a letter sent last August by Edward Hesley, DND assistant deputy minister in charge of military purchasing, to Yves Sillard, the French deputy general of armaments. The letter briefly confirms that the navy is open to keep the nuclear option open. As well, Maclean's conducted interviews with nuclear engineers, naval officers, political staff and defence ministry officials, lobbyists and consultants. "Those familiar with the plan wouldn't be quoted by name because, they said, that might jeopardize their careers. But they confirmed that the navy remains hopeful of becoming a nuclear power. Sea-own defence industry executives: "They are determined to go ahead—and they will learn to do so."

In an interview last month with Maclean's, Hesley said that the navy's relations with the French on nuclear matters had been "formal" since the government ended the nuclear submarine program on April 26. But his letter to Sillard in August indicates otherwise. For one thing, Hesley wrote that Vice-Admiral Charles Thomas, co-ordinator of defence staff, and Vice-Admiral Robert George, the commander of Maritime Command in Halifax, "are certainly interested in exploring cooperation between our two navies and especially the training of officers and men in France at the field of nuclear engineering and propulsion." Last week, Hesley confirmed that senior French and Canadian officials met in Ottawa in

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September to discuss nuclear testing of Canadian sailors in France. But he told Mulroney that the discussions "were just to hold, pending a decision to go ahead with a submarine."

Industry insiders said that the navy's preferred choice is a clean, diesel-powered version of France's *Amirbeche* engine submarine, which had been competing with Britain's Trafalgar submarine for the nuclear submarine contract. In his letter, Healey said that the Americans would provide a loan for the "extensive development" of Canada's submarine program. The key part of the development is essentially replace the engines of the diesel-powered submarines, which must surface frequently to get air for engine combustion. If the submarine program got the go-ahead, Healey wrote, DND would "temporarily the most efficient means of all-weather protection. . . for cooperation within the program at some future date." But, although Healey told Mulroney that other navies were experimenting with "independent" alternatives to nuclear power, he acknowledged that none of these alternatives would satisfy the operational demands of the Canadian navy. (Noted one lobbyist describing the senior naval officers and officials. "They are not on nuclear.")

Indeed, Healey admitted that this is not looking any study of alternatives to nuclear propulsion. But it has given a contrast of about \$160,000 to Technoscience, the French government-owned agency that builds nuclear power plants for the French navy. Technoscience is to study the possibility of adopting a pressure-water reactor-like engine type that powers French nuclear submarines—to generate power and heat at remote bases in the Canadian Arctic. But several experts told Mulroney that other nations and the U.S. navy had tried and failed to adopt pressure-water systems for nuclear use. Declined an industry spokesman who has worked with DND. "The contract is nonsense. They are just in a leading rush to buy the French technology."

Meanwhile, there are other indications that DND is struggling to maintain and enhance its nuclear knowledge. For one thing, the office of director general of nuclear safety, set up specifically as part of the nuclear submarine program and reporting directly to Vice-Admiral Thomas, has been expanded—at a cost of \$100,000. But many experts express doubt that the Canadian navy will ever acquire nuclear submarines. As well, with tensions between the West and the Soviet Bloc decreasing, pressures are growing for sweeping arms cuts. But Healey noted that previously negative attitudes towards nuclear power are slowly changing. He added, "The greenhouse effect, the ozone layer, the burning of fossil fuels, is creating many problems, and it is beginning to have people back to these alternative sources." Declared Healey: "We don't think it's appropriate for us to keep an eye on these things." But the navy, it appears, hopes not only to keep its eye on nuclear submarines—but eventually to lay its hands on the real thing.

MARC CLARKE in Ottawa

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American troops in Panama City and (right) U.S. gunship in action: objectives more easily ordered than accomplished

## WORLD

# THE PANAMA WAR

For 2½ years, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega pulled Uncle Sam's beard with apparent impunity. He alternately defied, provoked and humiliated President Ronald Reagan and Reagan's successor, George H.W. Bush. He flaunted the closely expressed will of his people by annulling the results of last May's election, and he survived an attempted coup in October. But this time, the Panamanian dictator, known as "Tito," went too far. After his handpicked parliament declared Panama to be "in a state of war" with the Americans on Dec. 15, his troops fatally shot an off-duty U.S. officer in the street, wounded another and terrorized the wife of a third. And that, as Bush said in a nationwide television broadcast last week, "was enough." Under the code name Operation Just Cause, Bush sent in 9,000 paratroopers and troops five days before Christmas, and another 13,000 a day later, to bolster the 13,000 U.S. troops already based in the Central American nation.

## PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH FACED HIS FIRST TEST UNDER FIRE AS U.S. TROOPS TOPPLED NORIEGA'S REGIME

There declared objective: to protect American lives, restore democracy to Panama, secure U.S. treaty rights in the Panama Canal—naval captain Stennis, who is under indictment as Picard in charges of drug trafficking.

But those objectives were more easily ordered than accomplished. Several U.S. ca-

lashed themselves in greater danger than before the invasion when Noriega loyalists took their hostages. All the same time, the winners of last May's contested election, sworn to sea U.S. last 45 minutes before the Americans launched the attack, had to be kept under cover for their own safety. Meanwhile, the canal was closed for the first time in its 75-year history, although it was later reopened. And the great objective, the steady, stone-cold Noriega, was—for the first 40 hours at least—nowhere to be found. That fueled speculation that he could, if not captured, take to the jungle to fight a protracted guerrilla war at the head of loyalists in his 10,000-man Panama Defense Forces (PDF). The White House offered a \$1-million reward for information leading to his capture. As if U.S. change officers John Bushnell conceded, until Noriega was captured or killed there would be "a great deal of fear and confusion among Panamanians."

Clearly, Operation Just Cause was not

quite the quick, clean surgical operation that the White House and Pentagon had hoped. Still, there was no doubt that it was amazingly popular among U.S. citizens, who responded to opinion polls with reactions reminiscent of the hostility generated by Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who died last June, and Libya's Col. Muammar Gaddafi. In a snap telephone poll conducted by ABC News last Wednesday night, 80 per cent of those questioned supported the invasion, although 52 per cent said that they would not consider it successful if Noriega remained at large. In Congress, too, Bush's action was well-received support among both Democrats and Republicans, although observers pointed out that it is traditional for American politicians to express support for U.S. troops in the field, whatever their private reservations.

Bush applied out the reasons for Operation Just Cause, and in his goals, in a nationwide television broadcast just after 7 p.m. on Dec. 20. By that time, fighting had been going on for six hours, much of it around Noriega's military headquarters, the Comandancia, in Panama City. Noriega's "rebel" forces and attacks on Americans in Panama had created "an imminent danger" to the 25,000 U.S. citizens living there, and Bush he added, "I took this action only after weighing the conclusion that every

other avenue was closed." For Bush, that action was the realization of what he had earlier called "an imminent situation" of his first year in the White House. The President, who often characterizes himself as "pragmatic," had been widely criticized for failing to take action against Noriega after the disaster unfolded the results of the May, 1989, elections. Media and political critics had again labeled Bush a "wimp" for failing to take decisive action to ensure the success of the Oct. 3 attempt by military officers to overthrow Noriega. After last week's assault on Panama, which drew comparisons with Ronald Reagan's invasion of Grenada in 1983, Bush clearly felt that he had finally put the "wimp" image behind him. "Key military objectives have been achieved," he declared. "Most organized resistance has been eliminated."

That assessment was immediately echoed by U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney and Chief of Staff Gen. Colin Powell. They told a television news conference that the U.S. military was in complete control and that the so-called "insurgent leader" Noriega was a "hunted" fugitive who, as Powell put it, was "not running anything." But, a day later, Cheney seemed to backtrack. In a television interview, he said that "U.S. objectives would be met" within the next few weeks. "For several hours after the invasion, Noriega maintained control of the Federal National Guard's headquarters station, and his long-range radio waves appeared over the airwaves for several and more support from the international community. He also called on Panamanians to resist the U.S. forces. 'The wounded was not or he,' he declared. 'Not a step backward.' Many observers speculated at the time that the hardest decision was still in Panama, perhaps even in Panama City. Some suggested that he might have taken refuge in the embassy of Nicaragua, whose Somoza government is friendly to Noriega. Asked how long the last word was on, Bush responded curtly: "As long as it takes."

Rodriguez Noriega remained in the hands of Noriega forces throughout Wednesday, brooding apathy to the people of Panama to "be alert, be alert, the enemy is in the streets, give your life for your country." The status remained on the air as a U.S. helicopter gun-

other avenue was closed."

NEW BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT Fernando Collor de Mello, a 40-year-old, night-of-entire popular, emerged victorious from Brazil's first direct presidential election in 29 years. Collor defeated Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, a leftist farmer since 1986. Taking office on March 15, Collor will have to deal with glaring social inequalities and annual inflation of 1,300 per cent.

## World Notes

### NEW BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT

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### PHILIPPINE PLOTTERS

The Philippine congress passed legislation giving President Corason Aquino emergency powers for six months to help combat possible coup attempts. Aquino ordered the immediate trial of leaders of an uprising from Dec. 3 to 7. But many critics insist at large, and out, Col. Gregorio Honasan, known as "Gregs," named in a TV interview that Aquino was "hatched"—politically, historically, morally and maybe physically.

### NAIR BOMBINGS

U.S. civil rights groups and federal courts tightened security after two fatal rail bombings, believed to be the work of extremists, which caused Federal Judge Robert Vance, a white liberal, was killed by an exploding package at his home near Birmingham, Ala., and black lawyer Robert Robinson died after a similar incident in Savannah, Ga. Two other bombs were discarded after being sent to an Atlanta airport. One was the work of a civil rights group in Jacksonville, Fla.

### LITHUANIAN SPLIT

In the Soviet Baltic republic of Lithuania, a special Communist-controlled ward overwhelmingly to set up a party independent from Moscow, the first formal split in the ruling Soviet party since the 1917 revolution. The move was designed to try to stop a public split away from the Communist towards the reform movement, which had led a high-profile campaign to defend Lithuanian interests.

### ADIS PROGRESS

In a possible breakthrough, doctors at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine in Baltimore reported that they had eliminated the AIDS virus from a patient's body, although he later died of cancer. Researchers said that they had "eradicated" the virus by giving the 43-year-old man a home-made treatment as well as the drug AZT, an anti-retroviral. But doctors cautioned that the technique's overall effectiveness has still not been proven.



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## WORLD

Phillips appeared to lose out that assessment. The Kennedy's criticism, he told supporters, was aimed "in the spirit of *América* that exists between our countries." Another senior Soviet official commented in obvious anguish that the U.S. action would pose serious new problems for President Mikhail Gorbachev as he struggles against American hard-liners who accused him of leniency in the Americas. "How could the Americans love doing this?" said the official. "It plays into the hands of everyone who wants to see our two countries remain enemies."

Previously, Latin America's two Marxist regimes, Cuba and Nicaragua, earlier condemned the U.S. action. The criticism from other Latin American nations was only slightly less harsh—a Venezuelan government statement said that the U.S. military strike "should be condemned and rejected." Russia went over a long history of U.S. intervention in the region clearly by behind much of the critical hemisphere criticism.

In Ottawa, the Canadian government, while expressing regret at the use of force, said that the Americans had no other option after diplomacy had failed to dislodge what Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called Noriega's "savage" regime. That sparked some heated exchanges in the Commons among Mulroney, New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin and Liberal Mrs. Singh. To McLaughlin, Mulroney insisted that, although intervention "might be a last resort," the Americans had "acted correctly in these particular circumstances." He seemed especially angry when McLaughlin, echoing words used by National Alliance Minister Joe Clark the day before to condemn the mission of American diplomats, asked, "Is this the way for a civilized country to act?" Mulroney retorted that McLaughlin's view of the U.S. intervention was "far removed from the fundamental values of the majority of Canadians."

In Washington, Laurence Rieff, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, an independent think-tank, dropped Mulroney's support of the invasion as "a tragic mistake" and "a thoughtless and needless thing to do." Added Rieff: "All that is going to do in the minds of Latin Americans is link Canada with America's aggressive actions." Canada officially gave the 30-nation end on Jan. 1, despite warnings that it is opening itself to the kind of criticism that Rieff leveled last week.

In Panama itself, some of the 130 Canadian citizens listed as living there, mostly business people, missionaries and technicians, appeared to be in danger. Charles Herrington, a 39-year-old retiree from Brighton, Ont., said that he hoped the Americans would finish the operation and find Noriega quickly. "I feel very good about it," he said. "It should have happened long ago." Winnipegger Keith Forster, who lives in Panama City, was more guarded. "The name of the game is for Canadians to stay neutral for their own safety," he said.

Among Panamanians, if not Mr. Noriega's scandal election against were any guide, there likely

was widespread approval of the action to oust Noriega, despite a historical tendency for Panamanians to resist U.S. interference. In these elections, Noriega, the Democratic Opposition Alliance presidential candidate, and his vice-presidential running mates Fariel and Calverio, defeated Noriega's handpicked candidates by a margin of more than 3 to 1. After the election, pro-Noriega thugs severely beat the 53-year-old Fariel with fists and iron bars, an assault that was recorded by 70 cameras and viewed with horror around the world.

Noriega's conflict with the United States dates back to 1987. It was then that the

Rouge administration, which formerly regarded him as an ally in its crusade against Latin American Marxist regimes, became concerned that he was helping Soviet bloc countries to obtain Western technology. The White House and the state department were particularly upset by a reference of his growing links to Fidel Castro's Cuba and the Panamanian Secretariat, whom the Reagan administration was seeking to overthrow.

The situation came to a head that summer when Noriega's second-in-command, Col. Roberto Diaz Herrera, gave U.S. officials details of widespread fraud in Panama's 1984 elec-

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ties and accused Noriega of drug trafficking. The Reagan administration publicly resumed Noriega, when the CIA had previously reported as a reliable asset, paying him \$250,000 a year for anti-drug cooperation. In February 1986, when two federal grand juries in Florida indicted Noriega on drug-trafficking charges, the conflict became official. The U.S. administration first attempted to persuade Noriega to relinquish power and accept safe haven overseas, presumably leaving the scores of millions of dollars he had allegedly earned by his drug activities and other corrupt practices. When Noriega spurned those offers, Washington ap-

plied economic and financial sanctions in an effort to drive him from office.

Those measures failed too. Last May, when Noriega overruled the results of the election, the situation deteriorated even further. Both Washington ambassadors and specially armed U.S. officers to launch a coup against Noriega. But on Oct. 3, when other army officers attempted just such a rebellion, the United States failed to provide decisive military support, deeming the attempt to fail.

The United States clearly has the military muscle to impose a regime more to its liking in tiny Panama, a New Brunswick-sized nation

with 2.5 million inhabitants. But after the rescue last week, it was by no means certain that the new U.S.-backed government could actually govern. Although democratically elected, Endara and his associates, laboring under the handicap of appearing to be U.S. puppets, observers said that Endara was in danger of being dismissed by his own party, which has a deep array of misgivings that is sometimes defined in anti-American terms. Sen. Jesse Helms, a Latin American specialist at Atlanta's Carter Center, "It is apparent that we actually installed this government, it will be unstable. Endara could be subject to a nationalist coup within months after the U.S. troops pull out."

Immediately after Endara was sworn in, Bush lifted economic sanctions against Panama, and U.S. business experts expressed optimism that the country's economic prospects would improve significantly as a result. Panama's gross national product fell 30 per cent in 1985, and nearly a quarter of the workforce is unemployed. Streets and public utilities have decayed; there are severe shortages of basic commodities, and Panama faces a \$2-billion foreign debt, one of the world's largest on a per capita basis. And U.S. investment in Panama has declined dramatically since 1982.

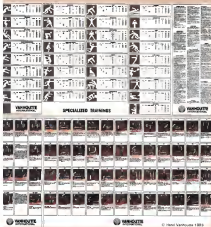
Bruce Johnston, a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, said "The economic sanctions were like a neutron bomb. They destroyed the economy, but left the dictator standing." He added "Ending the sanctions is more important symbolically than economically in sending a message to the Panamanian people that the United States has their interests at heart. Emergency food supplies and other assistance will be needed promptly to stabilize the country while Congress works on a long-term aid package." Such emergency assistance would be similar to the support that the United States gave to the Philippine government at Diosdado Cautin after the ouster of Ferdinand Marcos in 1986. Last week, the Bush administration made no mention of such emergency aid, but did indicate that a long-term economic aid package would be forthcoming.

While the U.S. administration embraced the problems of Panama's economic rehabilitation, the political turmoil left behind by the Noriega years—and by the U.S. intervention itself—remained to be tackled. Observers pointed to the danger that Noriega—Bush called him "a fugitive drug dealer"—might resume the mantle of a John Dillinger if he remained at large, or of a mayor if he were captured or killed. Another thorny problem was how to police a country whose defense forces had been so corrupted and compromised under Noriega's leadership. Clearly, the United States, while attempting a military political order, had marched into Panama for the long haul.

JOHN REISMAN with WILLIAM LORITZER in Washington, ANTHONY WOLSON-SMITH in Mexico and correspondents reports



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## EASTERN EUROPE

## A horrible crackdown

The last hard-liner lashes out at a revolt



Bucharest peasant and Zolotz (below) children were crushed to death by tanks

Down by day last week, the ugly details leaked out of Romania from behind its sealed-off borders. Faced with a spontaneous public outburst against its isolated regime, Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu had unleashed the full weight of his security forces on the western Transylvanian city of Timisoara (population 300,000). Witnesses said that hundreds—perhaps thousands—of unarmed civilians were shot, bayoneted or crushed to death by tanks. The 71-year-old Ceausescu thus flew to Iran for a three-day state visit, leaving his strong-armed wife, Elena, 70, to continue the crackdown. Hundreds more Romanians were arrested and may have been summarily executed. As the blood-bath continued, Romania's most famous expatriate, the playwright Eugene Ionesco, delivered a poignant explanation of Eastern Europe's last hard-line Communist regime. From his home in Paris, Ionesco declared

"Ceausescu is a madman. His wife, thirty-five years, is also mad. And it is these people who are being allowed freely to torture 23 million people."

At midweek, the Ceausescu government declared a state of emergency in the western district, but the pro-independence Cluj-based demonstrators disrupted a pro-government rally in the church, the Romanian capital. They even shouted down Ceausescu, who was addressing the rally after returning from Iran. According to the Soviet news agency Tass, police tried but failed to prevent more demonstrators from joining the crowd. Finally, they used tear gas to try to



disperse the demonstrators. Then, Tass said, "automatic rifle fire was heard. People in panic were fleeing in doorways and courtyards." Reported the official Yugoslavian news agency, Tanjug. "Police began firing on the trapped mass of people. Eyewitnesses said many were wounded and probably killed."

Ceausescu's demand to apply the so-called China Solution, a reference to last June's massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, consolidated the liberating current sweeping through the rest of what used to be called the Soviet bloc. In a five-hour speech to the Communist party congress in November, Ceausescu issued a warning that, unlike the leadership in Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, he would not yield to demands for reform. And after a relatively minor incident in which police tried to escort a student Communist minister, Ceausescu acted in a manner that has discredited his 24-year dictatorial rule.

The events that led to the Timisoara massacre began in past last March, when two members of a freelance Canadian television team slipped into Romania as tourists. Former Quebec cabinet minister Michel Clair and television journalist Robert Roy wanted to report on the problems of a 1.7-million-strong ethnic Hungarian community, located mainly in the western region of Transylvania. They spent a lengthy interview with one of the community's most outspoken leaders, 35-year-old minister Laszlo

Takacs, at his church in Timisoara. And when they failed to find an outlet for their report in Canada, Clair said, they presented it on Hungarian state television, which screened the documentary in late July. It was seen across the border in Transylvania, where Hungarian TV has a wide audience.

In the interview, Takacs criticized human rights abuses in general and discrimination against the Hungarian minority in particular. This clearly angered the leadership. The minister had already been blacklisted in a dangerous district, and the secret police arranged to frighten him into quitting the congregation. First, according to Takacs's brother János, who lives in Montreal, they visited and warned him to attend to his family in their

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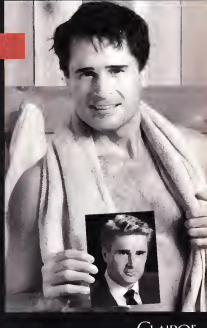
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CLAIROL

apartment last month. The minister and two friends fought the attackers off, and Tokos, with his pregnant wife, Rita, and son Mate, remained inside his horned-out home. Then, in mid-December, uniformed police arrived to escort the Tokoses, but they found about 200 passersby protesting the family. The police sent for reinforcements—and, eventually, the rioters escalated out of control.

The confrontation turned into a mass anti-government demonstration by thousands of people of all ethnic groups. They chanted "Freedom" and "Romanians free," and police responded by firing indiscriminately. A doctor who was visiting the city later told the Austrian news agency APA, "The first three rows of protesters collapsed dead or injured. Blood and tears flowing everywhere." The next day, the government ordered its tanks and helicopters. "It was horrible, horrible," said a Yugoslav medical student who witnessed the scene.

Kadafu Dacic, another Yugoslav, said that he saw people being machine-gunned from the air. "Hundreds of people were falling on the pavement below my eyes," said Dacic. After the initial massacre, security forces turned out to try to prevent additional uprisings. According to an Austrian witness, Gerd Beckmann, downtown Timisoara was in ruins, and the city was without water, electricity and food. He said that the security forces then began rounding up ethnic Hungarians and others suspected of having taken part in the demonstrations.



Typical working-class home in Bucharest, using the so-called China Solution

"People are being dragged out of their houses," he said. "Families are being separated. It has turned into a pogrom." Other observers described the government actions as genocide. By midweek, the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, estimated that up to 2,000 people had been killed and hundreds more wounded, many of whom would likely die because of the lack of

medical supplies. Other estimates ranged as high as 4,000 dead.

Chris, a former transport minister in the Parti Québécois government of premier René Lévesque, said that Tokos was eager to use the interview and, he added, "Of course, I never imagined it would result in this. But Tokos insisted that the interview should be broadcast.

He knew it would be dangerous, but he said, 'Somebody must do it.' He is one of the most courageous men I have ever met." Tokos' brother Mircea, known as Steve to emigrants who emigrated from Romania to Canada 20 years ago, said he had learned that his brother and his mother-in-law were taken away by police during the crushing of the demonstration. "I am very much alarmed," he said, "not only for Lucie, but for my other brother and sisters—seven in all—who are also in Transylvania." Later, Mircea received word from his parents in Romania that his brother was alive and being held in a small village.

Meanwhile, John Macpherson, manager of communications for CANOR reactor operations of Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd., said that a team of 20 Canadians are overseeing work at Romania as a pair of AECI-designed nuclear power plants. The Canadians are split between Bucharest and Ceaușescu, about 150 km to the west, Macpherson said, and many of them had already left the country for the holiday when the trouble started. As for the others, he said, "we have a contingency plan to evacuate them, if necessary. But our people there did not feel that it was necessary, so they are continuing to work."

In the rest of Eastern Europe last week, the momentum of change continued relatively peacefully. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl visited Budapest, where he will open Berlin's Institute Brandenburg Gate to east-west pedestrian



Gromosau: the full weight of his forces

discount wide-ranging financial aid for the flailing East German economy. Macdon says that he opposes reunification with the West, but thousands of the Dresden citizens who greeted Kohl cheered "Germany, a single fatherland." After Kohl left, Mikrow announced that he will open Berlin's Institute Brandenburg Gate to east-west pedestrian

traffic by Christmas, an act that symbolizes the strengthening ties between the two Germanys.

Meanwhile, in Brussels, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze made an unprecedented visit to NATO headquarters. There, he had what he called "a very necessary, very good and very useful" discussion with NATO Secretary General Manfred. Officials of West Germany. But Wimmer apparently turned down a recommendation by Shevardnadze that the two alliances establish formal relations. Still, both sides said that they expected 1990 to bring East-West agreement on conventional force reductions and a treaty cutting long-range strategic weapons by 50 per cent.

Before he left NATO headquarters, reporters asked Shevardnadze about the crackdown in Romania. Only sketchy reports were thus available, but Shevardnadze said that if they were true, he could only express his "very profound regrets." The language was diplomatic, but the message was unmistakable. A serious Soviet minister endorsing a Warsaw Pact ally while on premises that still recently had been vilified as a hotbed of anti-Communist aggression was another remarkable moment in a year of astonishing change.

**JOHN BERMAN** AND **PETER LEWIS** in Brussels and the KGBMAN in Warsaw and correspondents reports

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# An economic forecast for the 1990s

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**C**anadians are well on their way to have a recession in 1990, we're in one now. Because recessions can only be measured in retrospect—most economists' opinions of negative growth—it's difficult to spot the precise turning point. But when the man who determines the nation's monetary policy, the governor of the Bank of Canada, deliberately attempts to bring economic expansion to a halt, he's bound to succeed.

John Crow's optimism with reducing the inflation rate to zero (from a current 8.2 per cent) has backfired. By forcing interest rates to positive levels, as much as four percentage points above their American equivalent, he has brought the Canadian economy to its knees, with soaring unemployment, reduced capital investment spending and plummeting real estate sales. (Ironically, the spread between Canadian and U.S. rates has become one percentage point.) By artificially pumping up the Canadian side of the equation, Crow has raised the Canadian dollar to unrealistic levels.

That, in turn, has increased the cost of our exports, producing a surprise \$421-million merchandise trade balance for October. The first monthly negative trade balance in 13 years. University of British Columbia professor of international finance Maurice Léves notes that an export-dependent economy that operated on a healthy 18-per-cent profit margin two years ago would now lose from a five-per-cent loss margin due to the higher dollar. Although Canada's economy is trading at its highest (86.24 cents) rate in nine years (only two years ago it was at a high of 77.21 cents), there is already speculation that unless Crow backs off, the dollar could go to 90 cents—and hurt our trade even more.

At the same time, higher-than-expected wage gains have undermined the productivity of most Canadian industrial sectors and corporate profits have begun to slide. They are expected to drop by 14 per cent in 1990 from their peak in 1988, cutting even more into future capital spending plans. Ontario leads the country in

## The complaints against polluters will accelerate into urban terrorism aimed at the head offices of offending companies

industrial development, yet according to Ontario Hydro figures, productivity growth in the 10 years ended 1983 was zero, and between 1982 and 1988 increased by only 1.6 per cent per year. These are dismal results. During our ability to compete abroad and Canada will spend less on research and development, the driving force of modern competition, than any other industrialized country.

The cumulative result of all these negative trends will be a slowdown in the growth of Canada's real gross domestic product (GDP) from 2.7 per cent this year (and five per cent in 1988) to about 1.5 per cent in 1990. The only reason that there is expected to be any positive growth at all is that, as the Ministry of Commerce's Goods and Services Tax (GST) approaches (Jan. 1, 1991, implementation date), there is bound to be an orgy of consumer spending to beat the deadline. Still, the overall prospect is gloomy, ending the dominance we have enjoyed since 1953 as the Western world's fastest-growing economy. From 1963 to 1987, for example, Canada's GDP grew by an annual average of 4.6 per cent, compared with Japan's 4.2 per cent.

During 1990, unemployment will probably stick up to 8.7 per cent (from 7.8 per cent

now), but widely divergent regional factors will continue to apply, so that Newfoundland's jobless rate will still be more than 17 per cent, while southern Ontario enjoys virtually full employment. The consumer price index will be only marginally lower, with the big jump due in 1991. That's when the revised GST will boost the cost of living by 14 percentage points. In other words, the Bank of Canada may have pushed us into a recession for nothing. Crow has used the Toronto market for reading Canada's economic temperature, mistaking its over-heated condition for a national trend, cutting off growth and potential jobs in what he and other Ottawa mandarins derisively dismiss as "Outer Canada."

Excessive borrowing remains the largest problem. Our national debt will shoot past \$350 billion by mid-1990, and despite some serious Ottawa cost-cutting, the size of the federal deficit remains acceptably high. Individually, Canadians are also going into debt at an unprecedented rate, with 20 per cent of disposable income now per-spent, largely on credit-card bills.

The main exception to all this gloom is the short-term outlook for the stock market. "I'm very bullish," says Bay Street investment advisor Andrew Staddon. "I fully expect the Dow to move up during the first part of the year and I also feel that the bond market could have a very significant play upward, especially in the United States, where interest rates will drop by at least 30 per cent during the next 12 months." Unlike most analysts, Staddon doesn't believe that cutbacks in defense spending will be bad for business. "North America's superstructure is run down," he points out. "Our roads are old, our bridges are run down, our highways need expanding. The whole country yearns for money to renew old buildings, rebuild sewers and purify the water supply. That's where the money will go, and there will be social dividends instead of spending money for more military hardware."

Business in the 1990s will try to claw the environmental good as its own by advertising ever purer consumer products. But the trend won't be encouraging as it erodes a marketing strategy instead of evolving into a genuine commitment. The complaints against industrial polluters who despoil our world with acid rain, toxic wastes, pesticides and oil spills will accelerate into urban terrorism aimed against the head offices of offending companies.

The new slack tempo of the environmental movement are not the fringe fables of yesterday but the housewives happy to sort garbage into recycling bins, teenagers refusing to use large containers in fast-food restaurants and citizens planting incinerator plants and boycotting unrecyclable products.

Expanding computer facilities and the reality of global 24-hour trading will turn the world into a single financial market run out of New York City, London and Tokyo—much everything else a branch plant. The tremendous rewards this financial life is in store for that by the middle of the decade Canada's once-credentialed financial community will be an unrecognizable shell.



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## MEDIA WATCH



# A whiff of hypocrisy at the MPP convention

BY GEORGE BAIN

It can't go on living a lie. By not having acknowledged the discreditable truth in recent weeks, I have allowed people to think that, during the airing of the documentary about the New Democratic Party's leadership convention on CBC's *The Journal* on Dec. 4, my lens rose for news brought me full weight in my chair. The truth of it is that somewhere fairly far into the program, and before it was over, I arose, unannounced. There's nothing new in this that I need to know, and went out into the cold and snow to take John, my Amelie, for a walk. There is worse. I am not even sure whether John and I left before, after, or even—oh, the choice of—during the colloquy between leadership candidates Susan de Jong and David Barrett that so set the media cacophony on its ear.

The next day, I received two requests from broadcast people to share my thoughts as a media commentator on the propriety of the CBC's covering some participants in the MPP leadership convention to wear concealed microphones and to say whether I thought the red drilling all to the great Canadian people justified the means during several stages the unsolicited beards and waders into Karen Horne.

Naturally, columnists bring what they see, I am never unwilling to share my stock of shimmering insights. It was just possible, say, that I had been present at the crucial moment.

And I had only when I became tired of trying to persuade and lobby that accompaniment—like the Bell Canada name—of all at that, while I was still watching, it was twice funneled to see and hear—or think I saw and heard—words coming from a guy whose face didn't seem to be far from there. It never struck my mind that I might be receiving a message from an off-camera 'head party through a concealed transmitter' ascribed as the reasonable speaker's friend of the Loon.

But I digress. True to the highest tradition of journalism, I did not allow our early depart-

*The Journal staff's ethical decision had already been taken when the microphones were planted on certain delegates*

ture—John's and mine—to prevent me from remembering. The moments were in the past. But there is something odious about the CBC's using other people to extend its reach into conversations that an audience third party would have every reason to think were private. And, two, de Jong's supposed assurance to Barrett of their support, which was not forthcoming, might have reflected either a confused state of mind in the least of a conversation—she certainly had seemed to be in a flap—then professionalism.

Mark Stawrowski, executive producer of *The Journal*, has responded to criticism by saying that the words "bugged" and "hidden microphones" are unwarranted, and that "The Journal's presence was not surreptitious—we were represented by full two-man crews with me carrying a large recorder and the other a subtle camera." No doubt. But *The Journal's* presence was conspicuous as those microphones carried by those candidates and Robert White, of the Canadian Auto Workers, who agreed to do so. The purpose of those taken was to get where those visible evidences of the Journal's ears, at least, could not.

That surreptitious is precisely what *The Journal* was doing was explicit in Stawrowski's

own statement. "We were more assured than we were... when our unit realized that we had picked up the whole meeting with Mr. Barrett." In other words, we put out those devices undercover, and looky, looky, looky what we brought in. That is surreptitious, which is unprofessional.

Also, there is more than a whiff of hypocrisy in saying that, the day after, the decision had to be taken whether to run the tape and that "we could use no journalistic or ethical justification for what would have amounted to suppressing a tape." But the ethical dilemma had already been taken when the microphones were planted on the delegates. Having set out to record, for broadcast, conversations that third parties had no reason to know were not private, ethical and journalistic considerations scarcely can have needed to delay anyone very long.

There was also a whiff of hypocrisy in protesting that the devices used were not "bugs" but those the use of a large studio. Again, no doubt. But given the fact that many people at political conventions (newspapers, tripe around in all sorts of electronic gear—for the legitimate purpose of communicating with one another on a turbulent floor, for example)—anything short of a microphone of the sort Foster Hewitt used in 1959, to log in a snap photo, would be unlikely to get a second glance.

There is nothing wrong with taping people, even by telephone, without their having been told. If I call someone, give my name, say what I am doing and after what publication, that person knows I am asking questions for the purpose of getting and publishing answers. In that case, taping the interview is only an enhanced form of note-taking. If I enjoyed oral recall or could take notes fast enough, the same result would be obtained without outside help. Nor am I making unflattering use of the interviewee's voice and the identity that goes with it.

Stawrowski says, "We ruled absolutely no one" and that the material in question was "honorably acquired." It can also be argued that the material was journalistically relevant and that it was in the interests of the Canadian public to see it, both of which are within the perspective of *The Journal* to decide. But if it didn't matter anyone, how far did the program go to lead anyone to know that some of their matter were wired? And how were the stalling horses chosen? Candidates Susan de Jong, Margaret Marshall and Douglas Bennett were wired. It is hard to see how to be wired to other candidates. Okay that they were, the labor leader? As a friend of the program, or as one who wasn't a party leader? Audrey McLaughlin (who emerged in the end as the party's new leader).

Honourably acquired, as distinct from dishonestly acquired, isn't the question. It's whether the method wasn't a little underhanded—and whether a television camera, using its considerable eyes to get politicians to do favors for it—news, from—doesn't compare up gassy statements, based on a good pro job. You be sure to see and we'll be sure to see.

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## Winners and losers for 1990

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**T**he acid-etched mask on the crystal ball began to clear away. The election results on the front shift and I can clearly recognize shapes. The future is quite opaque. The future of 1990 is revealed before us, its major figures set on their appointed paths.

Simon de Jong will go to a monastery, allowed one weekly visit from his mother. The release of Nelson Mandela will be announced at the opening of the South African parliament.

Grand Dionne will be tossed out as premier of Saskatchewan, the novel of the nation, and will be replaced by Roy Romanow, the Ukrainian Robert Redford.

Ernie Mulroney will get a decent burial. Calgary Flames will defend their Stanley Cup, successfully beating off once again the Montreal Canadiens.

John Turner will announce in January his new career with a single-leg firm and the charismatic Herb Gray—otherwise known as Grey Herb—will become interim leader until the Liberal leadership convention in Calgary in June.

There will be a coup attempt against Gary Anand.

Don Cherry will say something stupid. Senator Bill Bradley will begin his drive for the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination. Someone will ask George Colton why he just doesn't wear a rag and get it over with.

Murkel Malm will not get outrage at the Academy Awards, will be honored from his Communications portfolio. A winery will be selected as the new leader of the Ontario Conservatives. Don Quixote will say something stupid.

The Mulroney cabinet, sponsored by the Kirk National Book, will remain nervous while swapping a book from the sheep-stealing Pat Carney, who can actually write.

The big book of the year will be Pierre Berio's look at the Great Depression.



The new leader of the British Columbia Social Credit party will be Kim Campbell, the Conservative MP for Vancouver Centre.

Bill Vander Zalm will become the host of a televised religious panel show where winners will be paid off in trip bills.

Nothing at the year will be as satisfactory as the pullings of Iran, Bosnia, Jimmy Baker and Lenin Himmity. Unless, it is revealed that Mickey Fries and Billy Graham are partners in a Yuletide gold-miner stock promotion.

Clifford Lincoln will not be chosen leader of the federal Liberals.

Harold Ballard will say something stupid.

Berlin McDougall will be moved to a portfolio more suitable to her talents, as a result strengthening her lead over Perrin Beatty as the next leader of the Malcotheopists.

The Blue Jays will drink again. Michelle Pfeiffer will be nominated for an Academy Award for *The Tempest Storm* and *General Bitch*.

Paul Martin will not be chosen as leader of the Liberals.

Gary Filisano will only on Robert Bourassa to keep him premier of Manitoba.

The judge will toss out the Doug Small budget-look case.

Shelia Capps will not be chosen leader of the Liberals.

Honda of the Berlin Wall being sold for \$50 in American stores will be revealed to be the remains of a concrete wastebasket on the outskirts of Cleveland.

Along about the 14th federal provincial elections of the year, it will be against that the finest hours of all is owned by this chap from the general province.

But Keith Dewey and Jeremy Counts will keep further into their markets that Clyde Wells cannot speak French.

George Bush, still attempting to shake the wing wings, will continue to beat up on small countries.

John Chelton will not be chosen leader of the leaderless Liberals.

George Sanderson will retire Billy Martin.

Ernie Mulroney will continue his guidance lessons from a soccer doctor so as to not pique the nerves of the Canadian voters who will determine his fate.

Some of the 85 members of Parliament and senators currently under investigation, according to the head of the RCMP, will be charged.

Certain senior officers of the RCMP, in light of the Doug Small/Seco, will have to resign. Doug Small will get a significant rise from Sony Arco, the new owner of Global TV.

A Doug Small Chair of Journalism Ethics will be endowed by a philanthropist. The floor will be Ken Thomson.

John Bassett, new owner of Canada's spy agency, will hold their first organizational meeting on his lawn court, not knowing that *The Journal* has hidden notes in the hollowed-out handles of the racquet.

The Toronto Globe and Mail, attempting further to appeal to businessmen and their adventures, will print the hockey scores in the style of the Dow-Jones averages.

John Crosbie will attempt English-American courses.

The Liberals, realizing their dilemma approaching in Calgary in June, will recruit in their new campaign one Yves Frenier, Canada's ambassador to the United Nations. He will be excused. This will enlighten Brian Mulroney very much.

Planes will crash, all pilots will happen, wild wars will erupt, and people will fall in love.



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